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U.S. Envoy John Whitehead Arrives 18 Oct

AU1810145888 Sofia BTA in English
1419 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] Sofia, October 18 (BTA)—Mr. John Whitehead, U.S. deputy secretary of state [title as received], said today after his arrival that the relations between Bulgaria and the U.S.A. continue their development.

I am visiting here in the hopes that we can move our relationships forward, stressed Mr. John Whitehead, noting that it is his final tour through the countries of Eastern Europe before President Reagan goes out of office in January.

Mr. John Whitehead was met at the Sofia airport by Mr. Mariy Ivanov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs, by Mr. Lyuben Gotsev, deputy minister of foreign affairs, and by other officials.

According to the programme he will be received later in the afternoon by State Council President Mr. Todor Zhivkov.

This is the third visit of Mr. Whitehead to Bulgaria for the last two years.

Received by Zhivkov

AU1810195588 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian
1830 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] John Whitehead, U.S. first deputy secretary of state, [title as received] arrived in Bulgaria on 18 October.

The guest visited Pravets and reviewed the permanent exhibition at the Microprocessing Equipment Plant and the historical museum. He also visited the house in which Comrade Todor Zhivkov was born.

This evening at the residence near Pravets, Todor Zhivkov, State Council chairman, received John Whitehead, U.S. first deputy secretary of state. Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, took part in the meeting.

Talks With Zhivkov Proceed

AU1810203888 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian
2000 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] On 18 October at Pravets Residence, Todor Zhivkov, State Council chairman received John Whitehead, U.S. first deputy secretary of state [title as received], who arrived in Bulgaria on an official visit.

During their talks they reviewed issues of bilateral relations and more specifically, the development of these relations since John Whitehead's last visit to Sofia in February 1988. It was stressed that the recent activization of political dialogue at the highest level creates favorable conditions for developing cooperation in all areas of bilateral exchange, on the basis of the balance of interests.

A common assessment was made that the present state of relations is positive. The sides noted the emerging tendency of conducting more regular contacts between Bulgaria and the United States at various levels and areas, and intensifying cooperation in the spheres of trade and economy, science, technological progress, and cultural exchange.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov and Mr John Whitehead expressed readiness to continue the efforts of the two countries to further intensify relations on the principles of mutual benefit and reciprocity.

During the talks, the sides especially stressed the profound and comprehensive restructuring of Bulgaria's socioeconomic life. Comrade Todor Zhivkov spoke in detail on the reflection of this process in Bulgaria's foreign policy and the possibilities it reveals to establish a more dynamic and more efficient dialogue between Bulgarian economic organizations and U.S. business circles.

It was pointed out that ideological and sociopolitical differences must not prevent the development of cooperation in the interest of peace and universal security.

The meeting was attended by Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, and Sol Polansky, U.S. ambassador to Bulgaria.

Todor Zhivkov, State Council chairman, gave a dinner in honor of John Whitehead, U.S. first deputy secretary of state.

Stoichkov Meets Soviet Machine-Building Minister

AU1410161588 Sofia BTA in English
1449 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] Sofia, October 14 (BTA)—Mr Grigor Stoichkov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Mr Lev Ryabev, minister of medium machine building of the USSR.

The two sides discussed problems of the cooperation in the development and application of new technologies for comprehensive extraction of elements from the raw materials in the ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy and rare metals. Attention was paid to the joint activity for the transference of comprehensive automation in production through electronic systems on the basis of microprocessor technology and computers. Questions related to nuclear power supply and instrument building were also viewed.

Cooperative Association Formed With USSR

AU1510153388 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian
12 Oct 88 p 2

[Vasil Stoyanov report: "'Sovbulkoop'—A New Bulgarian-Soviet Association: A Firm With Ambitions"]

[Text] Representatives from 62 cooperatives in Bulgaria and the USSR held an inaugural meeting in the Park Hotel Moskva in Sofia on 11 October. The delegates,

representing 31 Bulgarian and 31 Soviet cooperatives, elected the leadership of the firm and adopted the statute of the enterprise. More exactly, the enterprise is an association that will combine the efforts of the cooperative workers from both countries voluntarily participating in it in meeting people's needs for goods and food, and making market breakthroughs in third countries. The membership of "Sovbulkoop" is open to all cooperatives that accept its statute and are interested in such cooperation, even if they are from third countries.

The meeting took a decision that the enterprise's head office during the first 2 years would be in Sofia, and elected Ivan Durpatov as general director. The latter made this statement: "Our joint enterprise will be self-financing and self-supporting. Its receipts will be obtained in the form of commissions for services and activities carried out. We will utilize credits from Bulgarian and Soviet banks. The convertible currency earned, by decision of the general meeting, will be used to purchase technologies and equipment and to produce competitive goods for export."

The views expressed by some of the founding members provided evidence of readiness to engage in efficient, responsible work. Igor Staurin, from the Latvian Consumers Union, stated: "The market conditions make it necessary for us to combine. In order to export and be competitive in the Western market, you have to produce cheaply and reliably. Having confidence in ourselves, not creating obstacles for ourselves, and carrying out our obligations honorably—these are the ways to progress."

Pesho Peshev from the cooperative union in Sofia emphasized: "The new association has wide scope for its work. Previously, one only occasionally heard of information on opportunities or of links between Soviet and Bulgarian cooperatives. In addition to trading exchange, industrial production sharing will also find a place, mostly through the marketing activity of 'Sovbulkoop.'"

Everyone I spoke to stressed the benefit to be obtained from the new cooperation, which began even during the interval at the meeting. In one of the corners of the entrance hall Yordan Ribnishki, chairman of the "Strumeshnitsa" cooperative in Petrich, and Fedor Kotyakh, chief of the Kaluga Oblast Consumers Union, were having their first contact and making estimates on future exchanges without using convertible currency. Despite the fact that the Petrich cooperative members produce 5.5 million leva of goods annually, whereas their colleagues from Kaluga Oblast produce goods to the value of R45 million, there is benefit to be gained, said Fedor Kotyakh. We are interested in food products, jeans and similar clothing, and equipment for fitting out kitchens and restaurants. On our side, we offer domestic appliances and everyday cultural goods: electric mixers, kitchen equipment, and so on.

Business negotiations on the first day—what better beginning for "Sovbulkoop," the firm with an ambitious program.

Italy's Gaspari Meets Lukanov, Departs

AU1810185388 Sofia BTA in English
1809 GMT 18 Oct 88

["Bulgaria-Italy: For the Development of Cooperation"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, October 17 (BTA)—Mr. Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations received Mr. Remo Gaspari, minister of southern development of Italy, who is on a visit in this country at the invitation of the Standing Committee of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party.

The Italian guest was received by Mr. Stoyan Ovcharov, minister of economy and planning.

They held talks on the further development of Bulgaro-Italian economic cooperation.

Mr. Remo Gaspari visited the region of Burgas and became acquainted with its socio-economic development. Today the guest left the country.

Yordanov Receives Mongolian Culture Minister

AU1510185588 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian
1800 GMT 15 Oct 88

[Text] In Sofia today Comrade Georgi Yordanov received Budyn Sumyaa, minister of culture of Mongolia.

It was stressed that the traditionally good relations between the two countries are developing upwardly. Measures were discussed for further developing the cultural cooperation between Bulgaria and Mongolia.

Meetings With Austrian Foreign Ministry Held

AU1810194188 Sofia BTA in English
1803 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] Sofia, October 18 (BTA)—Political consultations were held in Sofia on October 17 through 18 between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria and Austria.

A wide range of questions related to the state and prospects of the bilateral relations were discussed. Ideas were exchanged on the forms and raising of the efficiency of the Bulgaro-Austrian dialogue in the political, economic, cultural and other spheres.

Special attention was paid to the strengthening of European security and cooperation. The two sides exchanged views on the tendencies of the development of the process of European integration. Other important international issues were viewed, especially the roads to the solution of dangerous regional conflicts.

The Austrian delegation, which was informed on the situation in the Balkans, assessed positively the peace-loving foreign policy initiatives of Bulgaria and her contribution to the strengthening of the cooperation in this region.

The Austrian side informed of its intention to search new possibilities for development of its relations with the EEC adhering invariably to its policy of neutrality.

The Bulgarian delegation assessed positively the policy of permanent neutrality implemented by Austria's Government, its active participation in the activity of international organizations, especially—the UN. [punctuation as received]

The Bulgarian side was represented by Mr. Lyuben Gotsev, deputy minister of foreign affairs, and the Austrian—by Dr. Erich Schmid, director of the Political Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Austria. The talks were attended by Austria's ambassador to Sofia Dr. Manfred Kippach.

The Austrian delegation was received by Mr. Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs.

Mladenov To Visit Belgium 'End of October'
AU1410192988 Sofia BTA in English
1833 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] Sofia, October 14 (BTA)—Mr Petur Mladenov, the Bulgarian foreign affairs minister, is to visit Belgium at the end of October, at the invitation of his Belgian counterpart Mr Leo Tindemans.

Daily Analyzes 9-Month Plan Fulfillment
AU1410154188 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 12 Oct 88 pp 1, 6

[Report by Ivan Ivanov: "Positive Results, but Also Negative Trends in the Fulfillment of the State Plan for Bulgaria's Scientific, Technical, and Socioeconomic Development During the First 9 Months of 1988"]

[Text] The main conclusion that must be drawn from the conference of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers on 11 October may seem "uneconomic" to some people. Nevertheless, this was what sounded through most strongly in the words of Georgi Atanasov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, who opened and chaired this important meeting of the economic leaders at the start of the fourth quarter, which is so crucial for the annual plan. Addressing the participants—ministers, chairmen of associations and executive committees of oblast people's councils and municipal people's councils, leaders of economic trusts and combines, and other responsible figures—he stressed that, apart from correct regulators, rates of growth, and proportions, the economy needs a sense of duty, responsibility, and ethics in the mutual relations.

One should under no circumstances underestimate what has been achieved in the first 9 months of 1988. The report delivered by Stoyan Ovcharov, minister of the economy and planning, noted positive results. Let us report some of them, before the complete and final data are announced.

Production output during the 9-month period rose by 6.1 percent as compared with the same period of 1987. Social labor productivity increased by 9.1 percent, exceeding the rise in wages by 4.8 percent. Resource-saving growth was also evident: Material expenditure per 100 leva of goods output fell by 2.5 points as compared with the first 9 months of 1987. Increases were achieved in aggregate profit, production of goods and services for the domestic market, and in other indexes.

The analysis must take these successes into account, as they provide the basis—and, of course, the guarantee—for ensuring that we will complete the economic year successfully and make a good start next year. However, it is more important that we frankly shed light on certain unresolved problems that have neither lost their acuteness, nor disappeared.

Let us mention only two factors. The fulfillment of the plan according to types of products outwardly looks good, the figures for the majority of products have been exceeded, and the volume of goods not produced is below 1 percent. However, it is precisely the latter that cause distortions in the commodity structure, strain in the country's balances, and shortages that do not disappear and are not easily made good; they disrupt relations, including those covered by contractual obligations, and hamper the economic organizations of the good producers from fulfilling their social function. The list of products in short supply is not short, and ranges from metals, brown coal, nitrogen and phosphorus fertilizers, certain machines, cement, and bricks to individual agricultural and food products (with regard to which the government is taking all necessary measures to ensure supplies). Difficulties do exist—no one denies this, but there are also chronic shortcomings, such as nonfulfillment of production-sharing deliveries agreed by contract, poor discipline, omissions in the maintenance of machines and installations, and the inefficient utilization of foreign exchange resources! Here too we will see who is capable of achieving what in the remaining months.

One fact is perplexing: In almost 2,000 enterprises with a good overall ratio of labor productivity to wages, violations are noted to the "benefit" of wages. How can this be explained? Have the labor collectives of these enterprises really forgotten that, under self-management conditions, it is not permissible to try to get more money unless you have ensured a considerable rise in goods output in return? Here is the place for the guiding role of the party organizations and of every Communist to make itself felt.

At the conference, specific tasks were set both for ensuring a successful completion of 1988 and for preparing the plans for next year in advance. Conditions for stable and dynamic growth exist—the strategy for this has been mapped out in the party's July Concept. Full mobilization, strict discipline, a specific sense of responsibility, and a sense of duty in taking a new, decisive step forward in restructuring depend on us and us alone.

Reportage on 17-18 Oct CPSL CC Session

Resolution on Ideological Work

LD1810215288 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] At the end of its 2-day session the CPSL Central Committee unanimously adopted a resolution. It emphasizes the increasing importance of ideological work. This is particularly the case at the present time of practical implementation of strategic decisions which have created the prerequisites for the successful implementation of the economic and social restructuring on the basis of deepening socialist democracy.

The CPSL Central Committee considers it to be unavoidable during the fulfillment of the resolutions of the 10th CPCZ Central Committee session and the CPSL Central Committee session to focus the attention of party bodies, organizations, and Communists in Slovakia on the following main tasks: to actively influence the strengthening of the Marxist-Leninist unity of the party through ideological work; to assist it in fulfilling the role of the revolutionary, political, and spiritual vanguard of society and the inspirational force and organizer of progressive changes in each sphere; to consistently explain the substance of the changes which we are undergoing and toward which we aim our efforts by using all instruments and means of ideological work; to contribute to the unifying of society on the revolutionary program of restructuring and to activate the working people to implement it; and to aim ideological work at understanding the meaning and the objectives of social restructuring and its implementation.

On this issue special attention must be given to the world-outlook education of the people and in particular of the young generation; to overcome rigidity, conservativism, and deeply-rooted habits stemming from a broad approach to solving problems; to increase organization and discipline; to awaken people to be irreconcilable toward everything which hampers the advancement of society and the activity of the people; to enhance the conceptual approach, efficiency, and creativity of managerial work in all spheres of ideological-educational activity; and to fundamentally improve the work with cadres in the sphere of ideological work and speedily deal with the issues of securing the supply of material and technology to this area.

The CPSL Central Committee sets the task to party bodies, organizations, and Communists in Slovakia to react more readily to the needs of life in the sphere of propaganda and agitation, and to keep convincing people by their arguments of the correctness of the CPCZ's policy; to support an active creative approach to restructuring; to make people respect honest, good-quality, and selfless work; to evaluate the structure of teaching groups of the CPSL Central Committee and of lower-ranking party bodies with regard to the efficient implementation of ideological tasks in the process of social restructuring; and to enhance the responsibility of primary party organizations for the comprehensive securing of party education and to deepen their influence on political education in mass organizations.

The CPSL Central Committee sets the task to Communists in the sphere of advancing Marxist-Leninist theory of social sciences to bring these sciences into harmony with the aims and tasks of restructuring; to fundamentally deepen the mutual relations between Marxist-Leninist social sciences with social practice, in particular with party-political practice.

The Central Committee sets a task for Communists in the area of education to thoroughly promote the unity and close link with society in the work of all types of schools; in the sphere of culture and the arts to enhance the ideological-political and artistic responsibility of artistic unions for the quality of creative work and its dissemination; and to increase (?their) active participation in the directing processes in the sphere of culture.

In the field of mass media and propaganda it sets a task for enhancing promptness, truthfulness, objectivity, and the ability to put forward an argument and the power of provided information; to increase responsibility for the implementation of the document on the application of the Leninist principle to inform the public openly through the press, radio, and television; to act more effectively as a platform for the democratic exchange of views and experience; and to develop truthful and principled public criticism of the ways in which the intentions of party policy are implemented.

After the endorsement of the Presidium report and of other documents, the CPSL Central Committee expressed the conviction in its resolution that its members and candidate members, party bodies, and organizations and also all Communists in Slovakia will take an active part in the thorough implementation of the resolutions of 10th CPCZ Central Committee session and the CPSL Central Committee session, and in this way will help to deepen the ideological, organizational, and action ability of the CPCZ Central Committee.

Janak Addresses 17 Oct Session

LD1810083288 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 2030 GMT 17 Oct 88

[Excerpt] A CPSL Central Committee session opened in Bratislava today. Present at the session is a CPCZ Central Committee delegation led by Jan Fojtik, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and CPCZ Central Committee secretary.

The introductory speech was delivered by Ignac Janak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee.

He said that in the period following the ninth session of the CPCZ Central Committee and the April session of the CPSL Central Committee, the CPSL Presidium and the Secretariat emphasized the need to increase the party's influence on the more comprehensive implementation of socioeconomic development tasks, the growth of its leading role in the restructuring process, and the thorough control of the implementation of resolutions.

In this connection, he said that the overall evaluation of the degree of understanding and the implementation of the resolution of the ninth session of the CPCZ Central Committee shows that this is a differentiated process. There are considerable differences between the standard of work of individual primary organizations and also of individual district party committees. For a number of people it is easier to mechanically continue the practices of yesterday, said Comrade Janak. He said that such behavior by some party bodies and organizations and by the staff of the party apparat is no longer possible today. This is because it fails to change the situation, to resolve and remove shortcomings, and to comprehensively implement the congress tasks.

He emphasized that party organizations must support those people who have initiative and are an example in their work, who courageously solve problems, are not afraid of responsibility and necessary risks, and are able to win over a collective to a new idea.

Tasks which we are now tackling require that at all levels—from the CPSL Central Committee down to primary organizations—the style and the methods of work are improved in harmony with the restructuring process.

He went on to point out that the results attained so far show that not all adopted measures are thoroughly applied. Therefore, the effort of the Presidium and the Secretariat of the CPSL Central Committee must increasingly concentrate on controlling their implementation, and at their sessions they must discuss issues which will actively help to thoroughly implement the policy of restructuring and democratization, overcoming more firmly obstacles, problems, and shortcomings—everything that slows down our socioeconomic development, said Comrade Janak. [passage omitted]

Secret-Ballot Personnel Changes Set

LD1910081388 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] The CPSL Central Committee today discussed cadre proposals and decided on them in a secret ballot. It elected Comrades Koloman Dudas and Stefan Rybar as members of its Presidium. Comrades Lubomir Kubascik, Jan Selecky, and Maria Vasilova, who until now were candidate members of the CPSL Central Committee, were elected members of the CPSL Central Commitee.

The Central Committee also elected the chairmen of its standing commissions. Comrade Miloslav Hruskovic is the head of the Economic Commission and the Commission for the Creation and the Protection of the Environment. Comrade Ondrej Saling is the head of the Commission for Agriculture and Food and the Youth Commission.

Comrade Gejza Slapak became the chairman of the Ideological Commission. He is also head of the Commission for Education, Culture, and the Arts. Comrade Ivan Gonko is the head of the Commission for the Political System. Comrade Elena Litvajova is the head of the Commission for Social Policy.

The CPSL Central Committee entrusted Comrade Anton Blazej to be the head of the Commission for the Internal Life of the Party.

Communique on 14 Oct CPCZ Presidium Session

AU1710143388 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Oct 88 p 1

["Report from a Session of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium"]

[Text] Prague— On Friday, 14 October, the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium dealt with the preparation of a ceremonial session of the CPCZ Central Committee, the Presidium of the CSSR National Front Central Committee, the Presidium of the CSSR Federal Assembly, and the CSSR Government in honor of the 70th anniversary of the Czechoslovak Republic. The session will be held on 27 October.

It discussed a report on the implementation of the tasks of the Czechoslovak People's Army in the 1987-88 training year and the main tasks of the Czechoslovak People's Army in the 1988-89 training year.

It dealt with a report of the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission on the preliminary results of an inspection into how Communists among the ranking personnel and party organizations in the Ministries of Trade and Tourism of the Czech SR and the Slovak SR implement measures adopted in the wake of the 1986 inspection and how they contribute to enhancing market stability. It charged them with reviewing the fulfillment of the measures taken thus far to stabilize the domestic market and with resolving hitherto unfulfilled tasks.

In the next part of its session the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium acquainted itself with some government-sponsored draft bills—on payments to the state budget, on the income tax, and on the agricultural tax—and with the draft principles of a law protecting patents for new crop varieties and animal breeds.

The session voiced satisfaction with a report on the preliminary results of this year's harvest of grain crops, including corn. It will amount to 11.8 million tonnes, which is about 3 percent more than planned. This year's

harvest practically offsets the losses in grain production accrued in the 1986-87 period, and the planned task for the first 3 years of the current 5-year plan will be exceeded by 140,000 tonnes. The per-hectare yields of basic cereals averaged 4.7 tonnes in the CSSR and were the second highest in the history of our agriculture (the Czech SR registered an average yield of 4.5 tonnes and the Slovak SR one of 5.2 tonnes per hectare).

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium decided to send a CPCZ delegation to Spain at the invitation of the Spanish Socialist Workers Party. The visit is scheduled to take place from 13 to 17 November, and the delegation will be headed by Comrade Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium took note of reports on the stay of a CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission delegation in the PRC; on the visit of Comrade Josef Kempny, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Czech National Council, to North Rhine-Westphalia in the FRG; and on the stay of a delegation of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet in the Czech SR.

Government Meets on Labor Code, Air Pollution

AU1210130488 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Oct 88 p 1

[CTK report: "CSSR Government Held a Meeting"]

[Text] Prague—On Thursday [6 October] the CSSR Government discussed a draft law changing and amending the Labor Code. In drafting the law, the Federal Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs employed the results of the extensive political-legal analysis of legal labor regulations which was undertaken in 1984-87.

At the beginning of this year the ministry discussed the draft law with all federal central bodies, central bodies of the republics, regional national committees the Central Trade Union Council, the National Front Central Committee, and interested central committees of social organizations. The ministry fully projected into the submitted draft law the results of the public discussion on the principles of the amendment of the Labor Code, which took place between 22 March and 21 May, and during which the organizers received a total of 28,074 documents from individuals, organizations, and bodies of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement and other organizations and collectives containing 140,865 suggestions.

In accordance with the stance of the chairman of the Czechoslovak Government's Legislative Council, the government assessed and adopted the proposals of the statewide all-trade union conference on changing and amending the draft law. The draft law will be submitted to the CSSR Federal Assembly.

The government approved the principles for the standpoint of the CSSR's standing representative to CEMA, to which it will adhere during the discussion of the proposals included in the preliminary agenda of the 129th session of the CEMA Executive Committee, which will be held in Moscow in the first half of October. This will involve, in particular, problems connected with the use of foreign exchange in financing joint construction projects, practical steps in cooperation between CEMA and the EEC, the redefinition of the amendments to the general delivery conditions of CEMA, CEMA's budget for the coming year, and some other issues.

The government approved a Czechoslovak delegation's participation in the sixth session of the executive body for the fulfillment of the Convention on Long-Range Transboundary Air Pollution, and authorized the head of the Czechoslovak delegation to sign a protocol under which the CSSR will become a contractual party to the aforemention convention on reducing emissions of carbon dioxide or their transmission beyond states' borders. Following Czechoslovakia's pledge to reduce the emissions of sulphur dioxide by 30 percent by 1995, compared to 1980, this is another significant act aimed at the protection of the environment. Carbon dioxide is created especially when burning fossile fuels, driving motor vehicles, and through certain types of industrial production. This leads to smog, especially in large city and high-density industrial centers, which unfavorably affects people's health. At the same time, the government issued instructions to set norms for emissions of carbon dioxide from stationary and mobile sources; to set mandatory emission limits when designing new and reconstructing existing sources of pollution; and to work out, by the end of next year, a program for reducing carbon dioxide emission in Czechoslovakia.

The government acquainted itself with a report on the results of the 19th session of the joint Czechoslovak-Romanian Government commission for economic and scientific-technical cooperation, and instructed the appropriate minister to ensure the fulfillment of the tasks arising from the approved protocol. The government further heard a report on the course and results of the 75th session of the International Labor Conference.

As can be seen from a control report submitted to the CSSR Government, measures designed to help the economic and social development of selected regions in the vicinity of the CSSR's western border have brought certain partial positive results—for example, in passenger transportation and housing construction. However, a number of problems connected with stabilizing the population of workers in those regions still exist. The main reason for this state of affairs is that the programs for the implementation of those measures worked out by national committees and ministerial departments were incomplete and on a general level. In terms of planning, finances, capacities, and suppliers, capital investment, as the decisive sector which creates new jobs, has been inadequately ensured. Out of 24 designated investment

projects, only 7 are being ensured. In this connection the government noted that, as the restructuring of the economic mechanism proceeds, the center will have fewer and fewer chances to directly intervene in the process of applying practical measures in the production sphere. Therefore, it recommended that a system be worked out which would help the border areas by means of economic instruments—for example, by lower levies, more favorable credits, and so forth. It further issued instructions to conclude the implementation programs for the 1989-90 period and at the same time ensure an accelerated elimination of key disproportions.

The government also acquainted itself with the course and results of the official visit to the CSSR of Roland Dumas, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of France, and with the progress of the second stage of the restructuring of the organizational setup structures of the production-technical, scientific-technical, and the circulation base of the national economy to state enterprises.

Jakes, Husak Receive Army Day Delegation
AU1110201788 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Oct 88 p 1

[CTK report: "Members of the Army Also Step Up Restructuring Activities; Comrades Milos Jakes and Gustav Husak Receive a Czechoslovak People's Army Delegation at Prague Castle; Festive Gathering in the Valdstejn Palace; Promotion and Appointment of Generals"]

[Excerpts] Prague—Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, and Gustav Husak, CSSR president, received a Czechoslovak People's Army (CSLA) delegation led by Army General Milan Vaclavik, CSSR minister of national defense, at Prague Castle on Wednesday [5 October], on the occasion of CSLA Day and of the 44th anniversary of the Carpathian-Dukla operation.

In his opening statement, Milan Vaclavik thanked the top party and state representatives for the systematic care and support which the CPCZ Central Committee and CSSR Government are devoting to the Army in providing for the country's defensive capacity. He stressed that the members of the CSLA fully support the Communist Party's policy, and that they are implementing its demands for the restructuring and democratization of society's life in all military groups and facilities. He spoke of the CSLA's results in combat and political training in the past training year. In this context, he stated that the efforts of commanders, political bodies, and all Army members are focused on making the training effective, on improving management and organizational work, and on consolidating the discipline and relations in military collectives. The enforcement of demands for improved educational methods and forms goes hand in hand with more effective party-political and ideological-upbringing work, and with enhanced comprehensive care for the people. He assured the top party and state representatives that our People's Army continues to develop the glorious Dukla tradition and that it is well prepared to accomplish its tasks in defending our socialist fatherland in firm combat unity with the armies of the Warsaw Pact member states.

The delegation was then addressed by Comrade Gustav Husak. He greeted all Army members on behalf of Comrade Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the CSSR National Front Central Committee, on behalf of the party and state leadership, and on his own behalf, congratulating them on CSLA Day. He stressed that we regard this day as a festive occasion not only for the Army members, but also for all Czechoslovak people, because it is linked with a significant landmark in the history of our nations—the Carpathian-Dukla operation, which initiated the liberation of Czechoslovak territory, heralded the renewal of our national freedom and state independence, and opened up the way for building a just society. The common struggle of Czechoslovak and Soviet soldiers has laid important foundations for the further cooperation of the two countries in the political, economic, and military spheres.

We are reverting to revolutionary traditions in both the military sphere and throughout our political life, Comrade Gustav Husak stated. We want to follow up all that was positive in the history of our working people and our state. Comrade Milos Jakes evaluated the whole period of building the socialist society in our country on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of Victorious February [1948], and simultaneously formulated the tasks which still lie ahead of us.

Comrade Husak then said that the impact of the efforts for peace developed by the USSR, the CSSR, and other socialist countries has helped in achieving progress in international detente and the improved cooperation between peoples. However, despite these positive changes, the efforts to consolidate peace and international security, while providing for an adequate defense of our country, must not be relaxed. That is why we devote such great attention to having a modern, disciplined, and well-trained Army, one that stands firmly on the stands of the party's policy and of the program of our National Front. In this context, he appraised the results of the past training year and pointed out that any existing weak points must be improved.

We expect the members of the Army (like all people working elsewhere in our society) to step up their efforts for implementing the demands of restructuring in the coming period, Gustav Husak said. In the CSLA this must be manifested primarily in adhering to quality criteria in all spheres of activity. The thing is to focus the attention of all commanders on a high level of effectiveness and thrift, on a more effective use of the material and financial resources spent by society on the country's defense. The CSLA's assistance in accomplishing national economic tasks is also expected to increase.

He also recalled that it is essential to step up our efforts to politically influence young people who are undergoing basic military training, so that they may not only become good soldiers but also citizens with a highly developed sense of civic awareness—so that they may understand and implement the policy of our party and the National Front.

Comrade Gustav Husak concluded his statement by repeating his thanks for the CSLA members' confidence in the Communist Party and the leadership of the party and state, for the work they had accomplished during the past year, and for their assistance to the national economy. He wished them great success in their further, even more demanding work.

The meeting continued with a talk between the party and state representatives and the members of the CSLA delegation.

The reception was also attended by Comrades Vasil Bilak, Peter Colotka, Jan Fojtik, Karel Hoffmann, Ignac Janak, Josef Kempny, Jozef Lenart, Josef Haman, Vladimir Herman, Miloslav Hruskovic, Mikulas Beno, Frantisek Hanus, Jindrich Polednik, and Miroslav Stepan. [passage omitted]

Minister Milan Vaclavik announced on Wednesday [5 October] the CSSR president's order on the promotion and appointment of new CSLA generals. Lieutenant General Josef Marusak, chief of CSSR Civil Defense, was promoted to colonel general, and Major General Jan Cadek, deputy chief of the CSLA General Staff, to lieutenant general. Seven other officers were promoted to major general. The national defense minister also presented 37 CSLA members with the Order of the Red Star, which was awarded to them by the CSSR president. [passage omitted]

The announcement of the CSSR president's order and the presentation of the Vit Nejedly Prizes were attended by Rudolf Hegenbart, CPCZ Central Committee department head; and by Lt Gen Jiri Necas, chief of the Military Office of the CSSR president.

Leaders Attend Document Exhibition Opening

LD1710234788 Prague CTK in English 2008 GMT 17 Oct 88

[Text] Prague Oct 17 (CTK) An exhibition of 16 most precious original documents of the Czech state dating 1158-1743 was opened here today on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of foundation of the Czechoslovak Republic.

Present at the opening of the exhibition were Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes, President Gustav Husak, members of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium and other guests.

The visitors have a unique occasion to see precious documents testifying to the legal status of Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia in the period of the feudal system. These include the Golden Bull of Sicily, an imperial charter of 1212, the Golden Bull of Charles IV of 1348, the Majestat or letter of majesty on granting confessional liberty for all and other important letters.

Member of the Czechosloval Communist Party Presidium and Czech Premier Frantisek Pitra said on this occasion that the exhibition is not only a display of the immense historical and cultural heritage of the nations of Czechoslovakia but that it also proves the traditional will of the people of this country to live in peace and in a socially just society.

Czech Writers' Union Views Membership Issues

AU1710143488 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Oct 88 p 2

[CTK report: "On the Present State of Czech Literature"]

[Text] Pribram— The Committee of the Czech Writers' Union conferred at Dobris, Pribram District, on 12 and 13 October. Its work immediately reflected the inspiration from the 10th session of the CPCZ Central Committee, particularly those aspects of the session that concerned literature and artists' unions. Among other things, the committee voiced its concern over the present situation in culture in which economic considerations are beginning to prevail over its function. It drew up its statement on managerial structures in the book culture, which it addressed to the CPCZ Central Committee and to the Government Presidium of the Czech SR. The statement will be published in the 42d issue of the weekly KMEN. The committee dealt, furthermore, with the present state of Czech literature and considered the question of writers who still stand apart from literary life. In accordance with their stands today, it considered the question of their return to literature. It also assessed the problem of writers of different world views whose oeuvre has already been concluded and the possibility of publishing their most significant humanistically minded works. It as well discussed the question of authors who write after having emigrated.

It adopted the following authors as new members of the Czech Writers' Union: Blanka Albrechtova, Adolf Branald, Jiri Hanibal, Miroslav Hanus, Milos Horansky, Miroslav Hornicek, Jaroslava Janackova, Ivan Kriz, Vaclav Kubin, Ludvik Kundera, Frantisek Neuzil, David Jan Novotny, Miroslav Skala, Ludvik Streda, and Jan Trunecek.

Minorities at Slovak Universities To Increase

AU1710142688 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 14 Oct 88 p 2

[CTK report in the "Briefs" column]

[Text] Yesterday the Slovak SR Government Council for Nationalities convened in Bratislava with Stefan Murin, deputy premier of the Slovak SR and the council's

chairman, in the chair. It assessed the results of the implementation of measures adopted by the Slovak SR Government to increase the number of citizens of Hungarian and Ukrainian nationality obtaining secondary and university educations. Particular attention was devoted to the current situation in admitting applicants of Hungarian nationality to university courses. The council also heard reports by Zoltan Sido and Fedor Kovac, the chairmen of CSEMADOK and KZUP, the cultural associations of Hungarian and Ukrainian working people, in which they evaluated the cultural-political and educational events organized by the associations as well as current tasks in the associations' activities in the preparatory period for the celebration of the 70th anniversary of the founding of the Czechoslovak Republic.

Further Reportage on Visit of PRC's Yao Yilin

Discusses Developing Ties with CSSR

LD1810180588 Prague CTK in English 1527 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] Prague Oct 18 (CTK)—Relations of friendship and cooperation between Czechoslovakia and China have been dynamically developing, Standing Committee Politburo member of the Communist Party of China Central Committee, Deputy Premier and Chairman of the State Planning Commission Yao Yilin told CTK here today at the end of his visit to Czechoslovakia.

He also stressed the successful development of the trade, economic, scientific and technological cooperation between the two countries, and underlined that the Chinese Government supports this trend which contributes to the socialist construction in the two countries.

Parallelly with the realization of the economic reforms in Czechoslovakia and China conditions are being created for its new forms in other spheres—e.g. technology, cooperation in production, joint ventures, third markets etc., he said, adding that Chinese provinces, towns and individual production branches can establish direct economic and trade contacts with Czechoslovak partners.

China is willing to gradually develop and expand economic and trade relations with Czechoslovakia on the basis of equality, mutual advantageousness, in the spirit of friendly cooperation and with respect for possibilities and needs of the two sides.

China will strive for better investment conditions and openness to the world, including the socialist countries, the Chinese representative said.

Views PRC Economic Reform Plans

LD1910084888 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] In an interview, Comrade Yao Yilin, member of the Standing Committee of the CPC Politburo, vice premier, and chairman of the State Planning Commission, commented on the principles which are emphasized in the current Chinese economic reform by saying that the aim of the reform is to create and develop a planned socialist economy. This means that, presupposing the predominance of public ownership, it is necessary to gradually create new economic mechanisms by which the state regulates the market and the market provides an orientation to enterprises. At the same time the concept of special economic zones will continue and the open-type economy will be further promoted in coastal areas. These zones will participate actively in international exchange under competitive conditions in such a way that the advancement of the economy of these zones will determine the advancement of the entire national economy.

In the interest of attracting greater foreign capital participation and progressive technology, they have to strive to improve investment conditions and to open themselves up to the world. This includes socialist countries such as Czechoslovakia.

Received by Husak

LD1810180788 Prague CTK in English 1628 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] Prague Oct 18. (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak received here today Standing Committee Politburo member of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, Deputy Premier and Chairman of the State Planning Commission Yao Yilin, currently on a working visit to Czechoslovakia.

In a cordial discussions Gustav Husak appreciated the results of his recent visit to China.

The statesmen praised the development and intensity of bilateral relations and stressed the durable interest in the further deepening and strengthening of bilateral relations and cooperation in all spheres. In this connection they pointed out the usefulness of the exchange of experience from the two countries' economic reforms.

Also present was Czechoslovak State Planning Commission Chairman Bohumil Urban.

Jakes Meets Austrian CP Leader, Views Reform

LD1810212888 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, today met for talks with the Austrian Communist Party delegation, which is headed by party chairman Franz Muhri and which is paying an official visit to Czechoslovakia at the invitation of the CPCZ Central Committee.

Milos Jakes and Franz Muhri briefed each other on the situation in Czechoslovakia and Austria and the work of the Communists in the two countries. They also exchanged views on the possibilities for the further development of cooperation between Czechoslovakia

and Austria in the political, economic, and cultural sectors. At the same time they evaluated issues of further deepening relations between the CPCZ and the Austrian Communist Party.

Comrade Jakes briefed the guests on the efforts of the Czechoslovak Communists and the whole of society in fulfilling the conclusions of the 17th CPCZ Congress, on the course of the implementation of restructuring of the economic mechanism and all-round democratization of life in Czechoslovakia, as well as the conclusions of the recently completed 10th session of the CPCZ Central Committee. He designated as misconstructions the attempts of some Western communications media to present the cadre and organizational changes in the party and state leadership as a move away from restructuring. These changes, on the contrary, are aimed at speeding up and strengthening the process of restructuring and democratization.

Comrade Muhri stressed the solidarity of the Austrian Communist Party with restructuring in Czechoslovakia.

He said that the progress achieved in the economic sphere and during democratization corresponds not only to the interests of the Czechoslovak working people, but that it also has a positive international significance.

Adamec Message Thanks USSR for Congratulations

AU1710125488 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Oct 88 p 1

[CTK report: "Thanks to the USSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] Prague— On Thursday [13 October] CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec sent a telegram to the USSR Council of Ministers in which he conveyed his thanks for its congratulations on his appointment. In the telegram he stressed that in its activity, the CSSR Government will continue to devote paramount attention to the deepening of friendship and comprehensive cooperation between the CSSR and the USSR, in harmony with the traditional ties between the two fraternal Communist Parties and states and in the spirit of the common targets of revolutionary restructuring. The telegram states, furthermore, that as a firm component of the socialist community we will continue to actively assist in strengthening unity and cohesion for the benefit of the development of socialism and the preservation of world peace.

Bulgarian Organizers of Culture Days Criticized

AU1810135788 [Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 15 October on page 3 carries a 1,200-word commentary by Emil Babin entitled "A New Quality Into the Exchange of Values!" The commentary evaluates the recent Days of Czechoslovak Culture in Bulgaria. While the author praises the selection and quality of representatives of Czechoslovak culture at the festival, he also makes some critical comments. He says that "notwithstanding the nature and the significance of the event, my conscience does not allow me to put on distorting courtesy spectacles, for I believe that only a sober assessment can serve as an impulse for a new quality in our cultural relations." He points out that "the days of culture were characterized by relatively low attendance," which he attributes to the fact that "our hosts underestimated the propagation and provision of publicity (a shortage of posters and eye-catchers.)" He goes on to say that, to fill the halls, the organizers "sometimes resorted to improvisation (schools, soldiers)," adding that "without a mature audience some performances can hardly have a dignified character." This particularly applied to the Czech Philharmonic's concert in Plovdiv, he says, and to the Festival of Czechoslovak Cinematography in a Sofia movie house. Babin mentions, for example, that Vit Olmer's film "Big Money," a box office hit in Czechoslovakia, was watched by "hardly 20 spectators." He is also critical of the selection of venues (actor Marian Labuda's performance, for example, which requires "intimacy," was reportedly held in the "pompously large hall of the Palace of Culture in Varna") and of "organizational shortcomings" (the program bulletin and posters reportedly carried conflicting information about the time of some events). Finally, Babin also complains that "for incomprehensible reasons," which he did not specify, pop singer Peter Nagy and his band Indigo were prevented from giving a concert in Sofia, although their concert was scheduled.

PRC's Qiao Shi Visits for Official Talks

Meets With Hermann Axen

LD1510223988 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1224 GMT 15 Oct 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Official talks began on Saturday between Hermann Axen, politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, and Qiao Shi, member of the Standing Committee of the Politburo and Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee, and secretary of the CPC Central Committee Discipline Inspection Commission, who arrived in the GDR on Friday on an official friendship visit.

The comradely consultations centered on the discussion of the basic direction of cooperation between the SED and the CPC. Hermann Axen and Qiao Shi concurred in noting that relations between the two parties, as between the GDR and the PRC, have undergone a great upsurge since the meetings of the leading representatives of the two parties and states, Erich Honecker and Zhao Ziyang, in 1986 and 1987. Carrying on the decades-long traditions of solidarity, friendship, and cooperation, an all-around expansion of the political, economic, scientific-technical, and cultural relations was achieved.

The intensive exchange of experiences in the further shaping of socialist society in the GDR and the PRC is of special importance. It is taking place not only between the two parties, but also between the trade unions, youth and womens' organizations, other social organization, between government institutions, and between provinces, and towns. The visit by comrade Qiao Shi would contribute to the further deepening of that process.

Referring to the SED's current tasks in the implementation of the decisions of the 11th SED Congress, aimed at the further shaping of the advanced socialist society in the first socialist state on German soil, Hermann Axen stressed that the SED places two directly linked tasks at the center of its activity, the strengthening of socialism in the GDR and the GDR's contribution to the struggle to preserve world peace.

With the implementation of the economic strategy drafted by the 11th SED congress, which is mapped out until the year 2000, the SED sets itself newly emerging questions and develops the concept of society set out in the party program. The basic principle here is and remains to do everything for the welfare of the people. In so doing, the SED also takes into consideration the experiences of the fraternal parties of the socialist countries.

Qiao Shi outlined the current tasks of the CPC in the continuation of the policy, adopted at the 13th party congress, of building socialism with a Chinese character on the path of reforms and of opening up. The recently concluded third session of the CPC Central Committee adopted important decisions on this.

The plenary session underlined that the political-ideological work of the party is gaining increasing importance in the further building of socialism.

Hermann Axen and Qiao Shi had an exchange of views on the international activity of their parties, on the work of the two socialist countries for the preservation of world peace, a halt to the arms race, and the continuation of the disarmament process introduced with the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the elimination of medium-range missiles, and for ending regional conflicts. They spoke out in favor of utilizing every possibility in order to contribute to an improvement in the world situation. Political dialogue and cooperation receive special attention regardless of different ideologies and social systems.

Holds Talks With Dohlus

AU1810141388 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 Oct 88 p 3

[Excerpt] East Berlin (ADN)—[Passage omitted] The delegation of the CPC Central Committee, headed by Qiao Shi [member of the Standing Committee of the Politburo and Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee, and secretary of the CPC Central Committee Discipline Inspection Commission], was received for a friendly talk by Horst Dohlus, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, on Saturday afternoon [15 October].

The comprehensive exchange of experiences focused on results and experiences of the SED and CPC in further enhancing the leading role of their parties in social life and in strengthening the standing of socialism.

The interlocutors assessed the comradely exchange of views between the SED and CPC, which has developed increasingly dynamically following the meetings between the leading representatives of the GDR and PRC, Erich Honecker and Zhao Ziyang, as a significant contribution to better utilizing experiences that have been gained in building socialism in both countries.

Horst Dohlus pointed out the efforts of the working people in the GDR to successfully continue the course of the main task of the implementation of the unity of economic and social policy for the well-being of the people, which was adopted by the 11th SED Congress.

The SED is attaching growing attention to the issues that arise in the current phase of social development in connection with the necessity of further improving the link between scientific-technological progress and the advantages of socialism, and to the tasks that result for the work of the party, for the managers and all working people, for enhancing the fighting strength of the party, and its ideological political work among the masses, Dohlus stressed. In this, the SED places emphasis on solutions for new problems and the creative activities of the communists and all working people in order to increase the dynamics and efficiency of society by

increasing labor productivity, which will strengthen socialism as a whole, not only in the GDR. This is of strategic importance and therefore continues to be the decisive precondition for consolidating peace in the world. This is also being reflected by the successful 1988 party elections, Dohlus pointed out.

The Chinese visitor reported on the purposeful implementation of the course of comprehensive reforms in his country's economic and political system, which was adopted by the 11th CPC Congress. At the most recent plenary session of the CPC Central Committee, the current state of the realization of these tasks and supportive measures were discussed in detail.

This course, aimed at increasing efficiency and labor productivity in the entire national economy, requires the ability of all party members to understand the problems and to actively work for the fulfillment of these central tasks which the party and the state are facing. This is the main point of emphasis in party work, which includes the activation of the work of the basic organizations in the enterprises and the improvement of ideopolitical work, Qiao Shi stressed.

Received by Eberlein in Magdeburg

AU1810141488 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 Oct 88 p 3

[Excerpt] Magdeburg (ND dispatch)—The delegation of the CPC Central Committee, headed by Qiao Shi [member of the Standing Committee of the Politburo and Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee, and secretary of the CPC Central Committee Discipline Inspection Commission], was cordially welcomed on Sunday [16 October] by Werner Eberlein, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Magdeburg SED Bezirk leadership, on behalf of the bezirk's 650,000 working people. During an exchange of views, Werner Eberlein stressed the long-standing friendship and solidarity between the two Marxist-Leninist parties. The GDR and the PRC are linked by common goals, the building of socialism, and the strengthening of world peace, he pointed out. [passage omitted]

Hold Talks With Krenz

LD1710233988 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1737 GMT 17 Oct 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Egon Krenz and Qiao Shi pointed to the good development of cooperation between the SED and the CPC, which is taking place very successfully in the wake of visits by the general secretaries of the two parties, Erich Honecker and Zhao Ziyang, to China and the GDR. Krenz, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, met with the member of the Standing Committee of the Politburo, secretary of the CPC Central Comittee, and secretary of the Central Committee Central Discipline Inspection Commission, for a friendly talk in Berlin today.

They agreed to expand the joint work and exchange of experience, which are based on longstanding revolutionary traditions.

Discusses Relations With Honecker

LD1810203888 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1703 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State and Qiao Shi, member of the Standing Committee of the Politburo and secretary of the CPC Central Committee and secretary of the Central Committee Central Discipline Inspection Commission, conducted an exchange of opinions on current questions of socialist construction in their countries, on the international situation as well on the cooperation of both parties and states today in Berlin.

Erich Honecker stressed that the GDR workers are performing great achievements in view of the 40th anniversary of the foundation of the GDR. The results of the development up to now have clearly shown that the consistent continuation of the course of the inseparable unity of economic and social policies is continuing to pay off in the GDR.

The experiences of the GDR prove that a stable economic growth can be guaranteed with the constant observance of the requirements of scientific-technical progress and of intensification. Here, the social concept of the SED is being further developed with the theoretical and practical solution of continually ripening problems.

Erich Honecker stressed that the GDR is following with great interest the struggle of the CPC and of the other fraternal parties for the further development of the socialist society under the respective concrete conditions. He congratulated the CPC on the great successes achieved in all areas of social life, especially since the end of the 1970s.

Qiao Shi spoke about the committed work of the Chinese working people to shape the Chinese type of socialism. With the policy of reforms and opening up introduced at the Third Central Committee Plenum of the CPC in December 1978, a high rate of economic growth had been continuously achieved and the people's standard of living tangibly improved.

Concluding that China is at present in the early stage of socialism, the 13th CPC Congress in 1987 had set the tasks of industrializing the country, accomplishing the transition to the socialist goods economy [warenwirtschaft] and modernizing the country. The latest plenum of the CPC Central Committee has been able to note the successful start to the implementation of the decisions of the party congress and draw conclusions of principle for the continuation of the comprehensive reforms and for training and the still more effective shaping of the political-ideological work of the party.

Erich Honecker and Qiao Shi acknowledged the good state of bilateral relations which have been achieved as a result of the meetings between leading representatives of both parties and states in 1986 in the PRC and in 1987 in the GDR. This is founded on the joint aims of constructing socialism and safeguarding and preserving world peace. The cooperation and exchange of experience is of great benefit for both parties, states and peoples.

As hitherto, the SED and the CPC started, also in the further structuring of their relations, consistently from the principle of each party having responsibility toward its people, of full equality and of noninterference. The GDR and China are determined to further expand cooperation purposefully in all spheres for the benefit of both peoples.

Erich Honecker and Qiao Shi briefed one another on the preparations for the 40th anniversaries of the founding of the two socialist states in the coming year. They stressed that what has been created in both countries under complicated conditions, with the implementation of the generally-valid laws of socialist construction and with observation of specific national conditions, testifies to the vitality of Marxism-Leninism.

They both reaffirmed that safeguarding world peace is the decisive basic question of the present time. The tangible improvements in international relations are closely linked with the support of the socialist countries, including the GDR and the PRC, for an improvement in the world situation, for disarmament, dialogue, and cooperation. It is a matter of smoothing the path in the international arena for truly democratic, civilized relations between all states on the basis of full equality and respect for the decision of each people about its social system.

Today, Qiao Shi and those accompanying him visited the Cecilienhof Castle, the place where the Potsdam Agreement was signed.

Leaves For Poland

LD1810204088 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1721 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Today Qiao Shi, member of the Standing Committee of the Politburo and secretary of the CPC Central Committee and secretary of the CPC Central Committee Central Discipline Inspection Commission ended his 5-day friendship visit to the GDR and travelled on to the People's Republic of Poland. He was cordially seen off at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport by Hermann Axen, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee as well as by other personalities.

'Autumn Forge' NATO Maneuvers Criticized

AU1810181888 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 Oct 88 p 2

["W.M." commentary: "Lack of Capability for Peace"]

[Text] The series of the "Autumn Forge" NATO maneuvers, which started in August, will continue until the end of November. According to official indications, a total of 250,000 soldiers will be deployed during 20 maneuvers between the Polar Circle and the Mediterranean. The actual figures, however, are expected to be considerably higher.

This concentration of military strength along the dividing line between NATO and the Warsaw Pact is considered out of place by the international public, to put it mildly. At a time when further steps of disarmament and confidence building are under discussion, such a massive demonstration of military force is certainly no sign of goodwill. DIE WELT, which is always the first to flex its muscles, stated that "Autumn Forge" should serve as a "deterrent." This anachronistic flexing of muscles has indeed a deterring effect—but in a different way than intended by the central organ of those who are opposed to disarmament. It shows that NATO is still far from taking steps that are really required for peace and the security of its member states.

The proposal for the creation of a zone of confidence and security in central Europe, which was presented to the public by the joint SED-SPD working group in July this year, contains the suggestion that maneuvers involving more than 40,000 soldiers and a series of maneuvers should no longer take place. It is important to convince both sides that, in spite of the existing potentials, there is no danger of a surprise attack. "Autumn Forge" is the exact opposite, a demonstration of the capability of a surprise attack.

However, security cannot be achieved today by means of such martial threatening gestures or an increased arms buildup, but only jointly on the basis of agreements between the Warsaw Pact and NATO on the radical dismantling of weapons and, in harmony with the reduction of military confrontation to the level of mutual inability to attack, by building confidence. The spark over the NATO "Autumn Forge," however, is not conducive to building confidence at all. It is yet another manifestation of the lack of capability for peace.

More on National Day Greetings, Events

Reagan Congratulates

AU1210185988 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8-9 Oct 88 p 7

[Message from U.S. President Ronald Reagan to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, on the GDR's National Day]

[Text] To His Excellency Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR State Council:
Esteemed Chairman:

On the occasion of your national day I convey to you and the people of the GDR the best wishes on behalf of the

American people. I am filled with expectation for a future in which our two countries and the whole world will be able to enjoy all the blessings of peace and well-being.
Yours faithfully,
Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America

DKP Greets Honecker

AU1210164688 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Oct 88 p 5

[Message from DKP Chairman Herbert Mies to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, on GDR National Day on 7 October]

[Text] To Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee;
Dear Comrade Erich Honecker:

On behalf of the FRG Communists, I convey most cordial congratulations to you and all comrades and people of the GDR on GDR's national day. The 39th anniversary of the founding of the GDR again reminds us of the great achievements that have been accomplished in building and strengthening the first socialist state on German soil and in implementing fundamental human rights. The GDR's active role and your personal commitment to the policy of active dialogue and of safeguarding peace in the struggle for a coalition of reason is meeting with respect worldwide.
With socialist greetings,
Herbert Mies,
DKP chairman.

CEMA Sends Greetings

AU1210163188 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Oct 88 p 6

[Message from CEMA General Secretary V. Sychev to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, on the GDR National Day on 7 October]

[Text] To Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council:
Dear Comrade Honecker,

Please accept the most cordial congratulations of the international collective of the CEMA Secretariat on the 39th anniversary of the GDR.

The founding of the GDR paved the way toward implementing the great ideas of Marx, Engels, and Lenin on German soil.

Under the SED's leadership, the GDR working people have achieved major successes in socioeconomic development and are presently successfully solving the tasks set by the 11th SED Congress.

Deeply rooted in socialist society, the GDR is making a great contribution to developing the overall cooperation between the CEMA members to strengthen their unity and friendship.

On your national day, I wish you with all my heart good health and further successes in your extensive activities for the benefit of the GDR people, and for peace and social progress.
Yours sincerely,
V. Sychev,
CEMA secretary.

SFRY Sends Congratulations

AU1310161188 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 Oct 88 p 6

[Message from Branko Mikulic, president of the SFRY FEC, to Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, on the National Day of the GDR on 7 October]

[Text] To Comrade Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers:

On the occasion of the GDR's National Day, I convey to you, both on the behalf of the FEC and on my own behalf, cordial congratulations and best wishes for the further comprehensive progress of your country.

I am convinced that the friendly ties and the mutually beneficial cooperation between the SFRY and the GDR will continue to develop successfully in the interest of the peoples of our two countries and of peace and progress in the world.
Branko Mikulic,
Chairman of the SFRY FEC.

Mongolian Leaders Greet

AU1210153488 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 Oct 88 p 5

[Message from Jambyn Batmonh, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic, and Dumaagiyn Sodnom, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic, to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, on the National Day of the GDR on 7 October]

[Text] To Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council;

Comrade Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers:
Esteemed Comrades:

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP], the Presidium of the People's Great Hural, the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR], as well as on our own behalf, we convey to you, the SED Central Committee, the State Council, the GDR Council of Ministers, and the working people in your country most cordial greetings and best congratulations on the 39th anniversary of the founding of the GDR.

The founding of the first worker-peasant state on German soil was a victory of the teachings of K. Marx, F. Engels, and V.I. Lenin. The working people of the GDR have proceeded on a difficult and at the same time glorious path since the founding of their republic.

The Mongolian Communists and working people are sincerely glad about the remarkable success and the achievements the working people of the GDR have accomplished under the leadership of this tested vanguard—the SED—in strengthening the country's economic and social potential and in the steady increase of their material and cultural standard of living. The people of the GDR are today implementing successfully the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress, which are aimed at the creation of the developed socialist society.

On the occasion of this anniversary, we would like to make special mention of the fact that, as an inseparable part of the socialist community and in close alliance with the USSR and the other socialist states, the GDR is making a valuable contribution to enhancing the standing of socialism in the world and to strengthening peace and security in Europe and the world through its consistent peace policy.

The Communists and working people of our country wholeheartedly support the relations of traditional friendship and close cooperation with the GDR that are developing on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. We state with great satisfaction that these relations are being successfully shaped in the spirit of the 1977 Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the MPR and the GDR in all spheres of social life. We are firmly convinced that the upcoming visit to the GDR at the highest level will provide fresh stimuli to the expansion and deepening of relations between the MPR and the GDR, and contribute to strengthening comprehensive cooperation between the socialist states.

We wholeheartedly wish the fraternal people of the GDR great new successes in the struggle for the further fruitful development of the GDR as well as in the fight for the noble cause of peace, democracy, and social progress.
Jambyn Batmonh,
general secretary of the MPRP Central Committee and chairman of the MPR Presidium of the People's Great Hural
Dumaagiyn Sodnom,
chairman of the MPR Council of Ministers.

FRG Paper on Parade 'Ritual'

AU1110145488 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 8 Oct 88 p 3

[Monika Zimmermann article: "The Ritual Is Always the Same"]

[Excerpts] Berlin, 7 October—"Resurrected from the ruins and looking toward the future, let us serve you for the good, Germany, united fatherland." One man loudly sang the text, which embarrassed those around him, because for quite a long time only the instrumental form of the national anthem has been played in the GDR. The text by Johannes R. Becher, which refers to unity, is taboo. It is not in any school textbooks. But now someone boldly sang the text, and obviously wanted to make his contribution to the nation's celebration. He was not bothered. In view of the massive military power, even a state that often reacts uncertainly suddenly becomes self-confident and thus more generous.

October 7 is the GDR's National Day. On 7 October 1949 the first Constitution was adopted and the GDR was founded. Since then tanks have rolled through East Berlin on this day. The ritual is always the same: The entire Politburo gathers on the platform of honor at Karl-Marx Avenue, which has been made such a wide and generous street precisely to make it the suitable place for this purpose, for the military parade. [passage omitted]

Behind the scenes the ritual is always the same, too. The three Western Allied protective powers of Berlin regularly protest against the presence of the military in the Eastern part of the city without making any impression on the GDR. Although the military parades on 1 May have in the meantime been abolished and have been replaced by civilian rallies, the GDR obviously considers a threatening gesture on national day indispensable—even though it fits less and less the words which Erich Honecker, "the politician of peace," uses all year long when he prefers to speak of peace and disarmament. But this is not a contradiction, as one of the "soldiers of socialism" stated in his speech after the honorary parade, when prizes were distributed to meritorious officer candidates: The "combat strength of the troops," he said, has been given new stimuli by the peace policy. It is increasingly being raised, "even though at a lower and lower level." Berlin's children were enthusiastic and presented flowers and many handmade things to "their" soldiers. Then everyone went home, following the "GDR 40 course." Next year, everything is to be even more beautiful for the anniversary.

U.S. Church Group Visits at CDU Invitation

AU1110143788 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8-9 Oct 88 p 5

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Thursday [6 October], Gerald Goetting, chairman of the Christian Democratic Union of Germany [CDU], in a meeting attended by Ulrich Fahl, member of the Presidium and secretary of the Main Executive Committee, received a group of representatives of church peace organizations from the United States, headed by Vicar W. Christoph Schmauch, deputy secretary general of the Christian Peace Conference, for a friendly exchange of opinions. During its 10-day visit, the group, which was invited by the CDU wants to become acquainted with aspects of social and church life, but mainly with the work of the CDU.

Vicar Schmauch thanked Goetting for the invitation to this study trip. Many Christians in the United States attentively follow the social developments in the socialist countries and look to their peace policy with hope, Schmauch said.

Churches Call For Participation in Society

AU1110154488 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 10 Oct 88 p 6

[Albrecht Hinze report: "GDR Churches Insist on Right To Speak Their Opinion"]

[Excerpts] Magdeburg, 9 October—The Christian churches in the GDR have affirmed their demand for social dialogue, for more freedom of information and movement, for more legal security, and for more opportunities for the people in the country to participate in political decisions. This happened over the weekend [7-8 October] at the Second Ecumenical Meeting of 19 Christian GDR Churches in Magdeburg. There, 150 delegates held deliberations on the preparation of the European Ecumenical Meeting, which will take place in Basel at Whitsun 1989, and the World Conference of Religions, which is to meet in Seoul, South Korea, in 1990.

The chairman of the meeting in the GDR, Dresden's Superintendent Christof Ziemer, criticized the censoring of church papers in the GDR and the new ban on coverage by Western radio and television stations. The 13 drafts for the Magdeburg meeting, in which the political demands are affirmed, are to be officially adopted at a first reading on Tuesday [11 October]. Another preparatory meeting is to take place in the GDR next April, before the international ecumenical meetings.

The drafts deal with the three synod topics of "peace, justice, and preservation of the creation"—that means, for example, the safeguarding of peace by disarmament, human rights, poverty, hunger and disease in the Third World, the preservation of the environment, and the protection of human life. The churches expressly claim the desire to participate in the shaping of state and society in the GDR.

With regard to the situation in the GDR, it is said that a critical partnership is not wanted in this country. What is necessary is a "cautious opening up, which would put society into motion and would make it competitive." The reason for adjustment and shying away from responsibility also lies in the information and education system—in addition to the comprehensive claim of Marxist-Leninist ideology. The state organs should take seriously the fact that all people are able to make their own decisions and should facilitate responsible participation in all important decisions in society. [passage omitted]

Concerning peace and security policy, the churches are in favor of the establishment of nuclear-free, chemical-weapon-free, and offensive-weapon-free zones. Safeguarding peace in Europe involves "the structural incapacity to attack, economic and ecological cooperation and mutual interlacing, as well as openness and communication between people in all parts of Europe." They also speak in favor of unilateral disarmament steps, of renouncing hostile rhetoric, and of respecting sovereignty rights. In this context, they call for the establishment of social service as an alternative to military service in the GDR. [passage omitted]

Concerning the censoring of church papers—again, with regard to the ecumenical meeting in Magdeburg—Ziemer said that the request that a planned intercessory prayer be replaced by its distribution in printed form cannot be honored in any case. For us, the state's "interference in a prayer is sacrilege." The Evangelical Church is "concerned" and hopes that now there "can be good reports," at least about the Magdeburg meeting.

With the above-mentioned remarks, Ziemer referred to the media-political controversy between state and church, which started after the First Ecumenical Meeting in Dresden in mid-February. At that time, reporting on this event had been banned for the first time. The passage in the intercessory prayer, to which objections have now been raised, reads: "Help our deliberations to promote the process of turning around and renewal in our country." [passage omitted]

Ziemer noted that the church cannot and will not avoid social problems. In GDR society there is a strong urge toward more openness and participation.

State, Church Media Talks Yield 'No Results'

AU1410143788 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 14 Oct 88 p 2

["MZ" article: "A Long Talk Without Results"]

[Text] Berlin, 13 October—On Thursday morning [13 October] Bishop Leich of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Thuringia met with State Secretary for Church Affairs Loeffler. The meeting had been arranged because of continued state intervention in the church media. The talk between state and church representatives lasted

more than 2 hours, which was longer than had been planned. It apparently yielded no results. Bishop Leich was cautious in his remarks and stated: "We did not discuss censorship measures at all. Rather, we tried to find feasible possibilities for cooperation."

Leich pointed out that the state representative did not threaten to withdraw the license of church papers. However, the state secretary made it clear that the printing license might be endangered if the church does not exercise restraint in reporting on topical discussions about social renewal. According to Loeffler, this violates the stipulations that have been expressly laid down in the state permission to print. As is the case with all other papers, the permission to print contains the rule that GDR laws must not be infringed upon by the reports and that the GDR must not be discriminated against.

Leich made vague statements about how possible conflicts can be avoided in the future. A flexible set of instruments is to be tested for solving possible conflicts by mutual agreement. He did not reveal tentative details about this "flexible set of instruments." Regarding current relations between the church and state, he referred to the principle that was adopted during top-level talks on 6 March 1976. "Both sides have run into difficulties because of things that have happened, but in spite of these problems we must try to adhere to the principle," he stated.

This talk, however, which was described as open and trusting by Leich, has not brought about a decisive detente between the state and the church in the GDR. This has been demonstrated by the latest edition of the East Berlin paper DIE KIRCHE, which was again affected by censorship. A passage on the environment-policy resolutions that were adopted by the ecumenical meeting in Magdeburg, which has just ended, was not allowed to be printed.

Church Criticizes Media on Protest Reports

AU1810140388 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 18 Oct 88 p 2

[EPD report: "GDR Church Criticizes Reports on Protest March"]

[Text] Berlin—East Berlin Evangelical Youth Pastor Wolfram Huelsemann has criticized GDR media reporting on the silent protest march where about 200 readers of the Evangelical weekly DIE KIRCHE protested against continued state censorship of church papers last Monday [10 October]. The protest march which was dispersed by force, by security forces after 200 meters was neither an "unlawful assembly" nor had "Western television teams" been called, Huelsemann said. In a commentary published jointly with the GDR news agency ADN, East Berlin papers had claimed that Western correspondents had been briefed on the silent march. The protest march was called a "small unlawful assembly which was unregistered and therefore unauthorized."

Four pupils of an East Berlin secondary school were expelled because they had criticized military parades in the GDR.

Leaders' Public Appearances 29 Sep-5 Oct

AU0710180188 [Editorial report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German from 30 September to 6 October reports the following public appearances of GDR leaders (date of publication and page number in parentheses):

Politburo members Hermann Axen and Egon Krenz attended a reception given by PRC ambassador Zhang Dake on his country's National Day, in East Berlin on 29 September. (30 Sep, p 2)

Politburo members Egon Krenz and Harry Tisch, chairman of the FDGB Central Council, welcomed the third group of GDR athletes returning from Seoul in Berlin on 3 October. (4 Oct, p 2)

The following Politburo members were present at Erich Honecker's departure for his state visit to Spain at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport on 3 October: Willi Stoph, Horst Sindermann, Hermann Axen, Joachim Herrmann, Heinz Kessler, Egon Krenz, and Erich Mielke. (4 Oct, p 3)

The following Politburo members and candidate members were present at the presentation of high state orders to meritorious people and collectives by People's Chamber President Horst Sindermann in Berlin on 4 October: Hans-Joachim Boehme, Werner Eberlein, Guenther Kleiber, Siegfried Lorenz, Erich Mueckenberger, Gerhard Mueller, and Werner Walde. (5 Oct, p 3)

The following Politburo members and candidate members attended the funeral of Hans-Joachim Hertwig, first secretary of the Frankfurt (Oder) Bezirk leadership, in Frankfurt on 5 October: Horst Dohlus, Hans-Joachim Boehme, Werner Eberlein, Heinz Kessler, Siegfried Lorenz, Erich Mueckenberger, Guenter Schabowski, and Werner Walde. (6 Oct, p 2)

Willi Stoph, Politburo member and chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, awarded the honorary title "Enterprise of Socialist Work" to 15 meritorious enterprise collectives in Berlin on 3 October. (4 Oct, p 2) Willi Stoph also presented high state awards to meritorious people and collectives in Berlin on 5 October. (6 Oct, p 2)

Horst Dohlus, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, received a study delegation of the Italian Communist Party, headed by Roberto Piermatti, member of the Central Committee and secretary of the Terni Federation, in Berlin on 4 October. (5 Oct, p 7)

Werner Eberlein, Politburo member and first secretary of the Magdeburg Bezirk leadership, visited the Ristedt LPG, Koetze Kreis, on 3 October. (4 Oct, p 2)

Kurt Hager, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, received representatives of fraternal parties in East Berlin on 29 September. (30 Sep, p 2) Hager also attended the opening of the Days of Contemporary Music in Dresden on 1 October. (3 Oct, p 2)

Werner Jarowinsky, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, received leading representatives of the FRG Consumer Cooperatives Organization in Berlin on 30 September. (1-2 Oct, p 2) On the same day Jarowinsky attended a reception given by Guinean Ambassador Tolo Beavogul on his country's National Day in Berlin. (1-2 Oct, p 2)

Army General Heinz Kessler, Politburo member and GDR defense minister, awarded orders to generals and officers for services in the protection of socialism in Berlin on 3 October. (4 Oct, p 2) Heinz Kessler also received Army General Vladimir Govorov, USSR deputy defense minister and chief of USSR Civil Defense, in Berlin on 5 October. (6 Oct, p 5)

Egon Krenz, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, attended the opening of a representative exhibition of GDR athletic history in Berlin on 30 September. (1-2 Oct, p 2)

Inge Lange, candidate member of the Politburo and first deputy chairwoman of the People's Chamber's Labor and Social Policy Committee, spoke at a session of this committee in Berlin on 29 September. (30 Sep, p 2) Inge Lange also attended a reception given by Nigerian Ambassador Edward Martins on his country's National Day in Berlin on 3 October. (4 Oct, p 2)

Siegfried Lorenz, Politburo member and first secretary of the Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk leadership, opened a new factory for coolant compressors in Griessbach, Zschopau Kreis, on 3 October. (4 Oct, p 2)

Erich Mueckenberger, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, presented the condolences of the GDR party and state leadership on the death of Truong Chinh, former general secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam and chairman of the SRV State Council, to the SRV Embassy in Berlin on 4 October. (5 Oct, p 7)

Gerhard Mueller, candidate member of the Politburo and first secretary of the Erfurt Bezirk leadership, participated in a dinner hosted by People's Chamber President Horst Sindermann for the participants in the Fourth European Ecumenical Meeting of the European Church Conference in Berlin on 30 September. (1-2 Oct, p 2)

Gerhard Schuerer, candidate member of the Politburo, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the State Planning Commission, received Hiten Bhaya, minister of state of the Planning Commission of the Republic of India, in Berlin on 30 September. (1-2 Oct, p 2)

Harry Tisch, Politburo member and chairman of the FDGB Central Council, gave a speech at the meeting of the FDGB Dresden Bezirk Committee in Dresden on 29 September. (30 Sep, p 2) Harry Tisch received a delegation of the United Antidictatorial Trade Union Movement of Greece—Associated in Berlin on 30 September. (1-2 Oct, p 2) Harry Tisch also spoke at a session of the Central Executive Council of the Metal-Workers Trade Union in Berlin on 3 October. (4 Oct, p 2)

MSZMP Central Committee To Meet 1 Nov

LD1810222288 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Interview with Gyula Tuermer, staff member of the Central Committee, by Pal Toth, on 18 October; place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] The MSZMP Politburo considers that next year's price rises should be lower than those of this year. Gyula Tuermer, staff member of the Central Committee, talks to Pal Toth about the topics covered at today's session:

[Tuermer] The Politburo's judgement of this year's performance was that basically our economic-political objectives are being realized. It highlighted in particular the fact that, in accordance with the government's stabilization program, the balance of convertible foreign trade is improving. This means first and foremost that imports from the capitalist countries have fallen, while exports have increased faster than planned.

But at the same time, the balance of payments deficit is higher than planned. The Politburo also examined the reasons for this; among other things it mentioned that the country's debt continues to be high. We still have to reckon with rising interests rates and we must not forget the abrupt increase in the population's consumption of foreign currency.

[Toth] The population's consumption was evidently discussed.

[Tuermer] Naturally special attention was devoted to the issues connected with the life and working conditions of the people. The population's consumption, in accordance with the formulated objectives, is less than that of last year.

[Toth] And evidently we have to reckon with this—that is, we have to continue to bear the burdens.

[Tuermer] In order for these positive trends to continue, and for us to succeed in further developing them in the coming 2-3 years, there is a need for further sacrifices and self-denial, which could in part involve also a decrease in consumption by the people.

[Toth] Was the scale of price increases discussed? I ask because there is by now an awful lot of hearsay about this.

[Tuermer] Some people are even saying that the government has kept its promise. The fact is that the present 16.5 percent inflation rate is more or less approximate to what was mentioned at the time when the plan was drawn up. With regard to next year's plan, it was also said at the Politburo session that it is necesary and appropriate—the possibility is realistically conceivable—that the consumer price increase next year should be lower than that of this year.

[Announcer] We have received a report from the editorial office about the topics covered in the second part of the session. Agi Adasz reads the report:

[Adasz] The Politburo also discussed the draft connected with the renewal of the youth movement. According to the communique issued on the session, it is in the party's interest for the Youth League to take part in the shaping of party policy, to represent its line, and to help in its realization. Independence has to be granted for this. At the same time the youth organization must harmonize its more important political initiatives with the party's central leading bodies.

The Politburo also decided on personnel issues within its sphere of influence, and it decided that it will convene the Central Committee on 1 November.

Committee Discusses Economic, Youth Policies

LD1910005988 Budapest MTI in English 2352 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] Budapest, October 18 (MTI)—As reported, the Political Committee [PC] of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [HSWP] met in session on Tuesday. The committee surveyed the expected development of the national economy this year.

In the light of this year's achievements, it concluded that the majority of the numerical economic policy targets of the 1988 plan could be practically fulfilled. It emphasized that, in keeping with the governments stabilization programme, the balance of convertible-currency trade had improved. The volume of convertible imports dropped, while sales increased more rapidly than planned. Trade turnover is expected to show the planned surplus. The balance of payments will be smaller than last year, but higher than planned because of the huge debt stock, the growing interest rates, and the increasing amount of foreign currency used by the population.

Hungary's relations with the CMEA countries went according to plan. The rate of economic growth was in keeping with the plan, and investments also increased. The population's consumption dropped in compliance with the declared aims. The internal financial situation, the deficit of the central budget and the large subsidies indicate that the economic situation is still difficult. The qualitative changes are not yet powerful enough for a lasting stabilization and not yet sufficient for economic and social advancement.

The political committee discussed a proposal for the main features and means of the 1989-90 economic policy, which will be presented to the next session of the Central Committee.

The Political Committee discussed a draft on the renewal of the party's youth organization. On this score, the PC stressed that the HSWP requires continuous political dialogue and genuine cooperation with young people. To attain this goal, it will also require in the future a youth organization which rallies as a political mass organization young people who are committed to the cause of socialism and prepared to cooperate closely with the party.

The Political Committee believes it is in the interest of the party for its youth organization to take part in framing the party's policy, to represent and help implement its line. As a condition, the youth union should work autonomously, and the main guidelines of its work be determined by the resolutions of the party congress and the session of the Central Committee. It should coordinate its major political initiatives with the party's central directing organs. The Political Committee starts from the principle that the party's influence should be enforced through the communists working in the youth organization.

It agrees with the discussion of ideas for renewing the content and organization of the party's youth union.

The PC discussed some other issues to be put on the agenda of the forthcoming Central Committee sessions. It passed decisions on matters of personnel coming under its authority, and decided to convene the Central Committee for November 1.

KISZ Leadership Debates Future Course

LD0910030088 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 8 Oct 88

[Text] [Presenter] Even among the leaders of the KISZ there is debate about how and which way the organization should proceed. This explains why today's session of its Central Committee departed from recent practice. Janos Fodor reports:

[Fodor] We do not even have any pictures concerning the first agenda point, for a closed session had been ordered. Thus, the recordings, and naturally also the interview, were made later.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified speaker] Within the framework of the first agenda point, the Central Committee listened to a briefing about the latest party Central Committee session.

[Fodor] Why could the KISZ members not be admitted?

[Speaker] It became public that at this party Central Committee session, in the past period, and thus also at this session, attacks had been leveled at the KISZ and at its leader. The KISZ Central Committee ordered a closed session because there were fairly passionate remarks and contributions. And the Central Committee had to evolve its opinion and standpoint.

[Fodor] Have these come into being?

[Speaker] A final step has not yet been decided. The Central Committee has authorized the Executive Committee to hold a meeting about this, and for it to inform the Central Committee about the decision that it reaches.

[Fodor] The second agenda point was public, but in effect this was also closed, nevertheless. Though journalists were allowed to be present, they still cannot write whatever they like about it. You will issue a communique and we shall have to stick to that. Why?

[Speaker] Our request was merely that the debate that took place should be used only as background material in the future. [words indistinct]

[Fodor] Your conference, your national conference, was being discussed. Why can we treat these things, which [words indistinct] to our knowledge, only as background material?

[Speaker] We all know that within the KISZ there is a debate about how to proceed. The submission itself is a way of thinking, and perhaps not entirely perfected. There is a debate within the organization, between the various strata of the organizations [as heard]. And neither is it a secret that there is a debate within even the KISZ leadership about how to proceed. The objective of this Central Committee session is for a consensus to evolve. To publicize the details, and in part to highlight them, could perhaps bring more confusion than profit at this point, at a time when the degree of elaboration is still at this level. [end recording]

[Presenter] The third agenda point was postponed, on account of the prolongation of the previous ones. The employment policy issues will be discussed by the KISZ Central Committee another time.

Marothy Gives Speech on Bos-Nagymaros Dam

LD0710091888 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1555 GMT 6 Oct 88

[Speech by Dr Laszlo Marothy, minister of environmental protection and water management, at the National Assembly—live; no video available]

[Excerpts] Esteemed National Assembly. At the summer session, on a deputy's motion and a Council of Ministers' proposal it was resolved that the legislative body must be kept informed about Bos-Nagymaros dam. Together with the National Assembly's office, we have created the opportunity for deputies to be informed on the spot. In the interests of fulfilling the task, the government's competent organs have repeatedly

reviewed the main issues related to the dam. The Council of Ministers has discussed the report, it has determined its standpoint, and it has charged the minister of environmental protection and water management with briefing the National Assembly.

Esteemed National Assembly. In 1977 our country's and Czechoslovakia's premiers signed the interstate agreement on building and operating the Bos-Nagymaros dam. The agreement was announced by the Hungarian People's Republic Presidential Council in a law-decree, and its report on this was noted by the National Assembly in 1978. The same thing happened in 1984, as well, when the deadline for submission was postponed for 4 years.

Hungary suspended investment between 1981 and 1983; during this time the Czechoslovak side continued construction work. In 1986 the Council of Ministers adopted the dam's modified investment proposal. The submission summed up the results so far of environmental impact studies, the dam's technical, ecological and economic interconnections, and it revealed a structure for Austrian collaboration which reduced our investment burden by 18 billion forints.

The investment proposal calculated that the Austrian primary contractorship of Nagymaros would accelerate project completion by 15 months. Our Czechoslovak partners also joined this in 1987.

The task of the government organs was to ensure that the Bos-Nagymaros dam should be built in accordance with the modified interstate agreement and the relating high-level decisions. The Bos-Nagymars dam is being built at the planned pace. Its degree of readiness on the Hungarian side reaches 25 percent; in Czechoslovakia it exceeds 60 percent. Thus about one-half of the entire system has been completed.

The construction project involves 40 Hungarian enterprises. It employs 4,000 Hungarian workers and technical workers. It provides bread for a further 6,000 people in the background industry. The organization of work in progress concerning the project is of a good quality; the workers are due unconditional recognition.

Esteemed National Assembly. This task means a considerable burden in government work at present, it entails many problems, and as of now, it provides little pleasure.

Several layers of alluvia are being deposited on the Bos-Nagymaros affair. One such layer is the decades-long debate in connection with use of the affected stretch of the Danube. Another layer is the product of the changes of the past 10 years, those which have taken place in the world, in the country, in the spheres of science, society, politics, in sundry value-systems, and also which have clashed with one another in their own development, in their contradictions. The third layer is provided by our current general conditions, when we endure simultaneously the pains of our social renewal and our very depressing economic situation.

Government, however, can be guided by only one thing: by realistic calculations. It cannot be guided by an automatic acceptance of the past, but it cannot be influenced by the mood of the moment, either. There can be only one viewpoint: What serves better the interest of the people, the country and society? The project, like the potential contained in a torso, when fulfilled will be a lesson for a century that we had enough wisdom and strength to assert this.

Esteemed National Assembly, the waters of the neighboring countries come together in the Carpathian Basin—normally a little bit in the summer, and too much water at the time of spring thaws. A decisive proportion of our country's surface water supplies—96 percent—comes from abroad.

The Hungarian societies of the past have availed themselves of this natural endowment and of the possibilities to change this. From 1846 to 1929, 22,000 square kilometers of land in the Tisza valley were protected from floods, and in the Danube valley as well, 5,000 square kilometers were won over from the waters.

Now, nearly one-third of the population lives in 700 settlements in these areas, (?2,000) industrial works operate, and agriculture also reaches a very high standard.

The river valleys have always been the activators of economic and social development. As with many other rivers of the world, the grades of development can also be observed in the Danube valley. After the large-scale thinning of ancient forests, medieval flood-plain farming used the effect of floods in improving arable land. In modern times, arable land ensuring greater farm security was won over from the river by embankments.

In using the rivers and in protection against damage, the next stage in development was multipurpose regulation through dams. This is a method which has spread worldwide, now too; in our country this work was begun at the end of the last century with dam-building on the Keoroes [rivers in eastern Hungary].

Examples of the increasingly complex utilization process are the Rhone and Rhine, or the damming of stretches of the Danube in Bavaria and Austria. Thirty-two dams serving similar objectives have already been built on the Danube's water-system, to which we, too, belong; others are being planned and prepared.

According to the conclusions of the international large-dam committee, 16,000 so-called large-sized water-dams have been built so far on the earth. Of these, some 5,400 are in the United States of America, and if we also look at the middle-sized and small ones at the same place, the number of them is over 60,000.

Esteemed National Assembly: The Bos-Nagymaros dam system is not a large, but a middle-sized dam, about which the country's population now knows much more than a few months ago. Yet all this is too little knowledge for what the people living here have the right to know. That is a grave fault in our previous concept of information.

True, the information of the past months presented the opinions, debates of those creating and opposing the works, but it discussed to a lesser extent the essence of the works and technical ideas.

It would have been necessary to speak more illustratively about some of its characteristics. The Danube, breaking into the Carpathian Basin at [word indistinct], deposits its alluvia, it fans out, and it creates a delta on the enormous gravel layer, in the central stretch. That is Szigetkoz and Csallokoz. The flow of water has caused constant difficulty for the inhabitants of the area and it has meant an endless task for the regulators of the river. The main channel of this river-stretch was formed by intervention by engineers.

It was a very big task. The channel was built using 3.3 million square meters of stone. And more than 4 million cubic meters of gravel was dredged out in 8 years. However, the flood danger nevertheless remained, as did the damage caused by spring waters of the same gravity as floods, and the problem of shipping.

In order to finally resolve these unfavorable conditions, the idea was borne: The floodwater shipping problems must be resolved so as to be coupled with using of hydraulic energy, as well. Builders of water management projects say that these are multipurpose complex solutions. That is, the works which serve the attainment of certain goals also ensure the technical conditions for other goals. For example, the damming works enable simultaneuosly a water- depth necessary for shipping and a use of hydraulic energy.

The conception of the Bos-Nagymaros dam is also distinguished by technical solutions which stand in close contact with each other. The Danube water is collected in a waterbasin—this is the Dunakiliti water basin. The dam is being built on Hungarian territory at Danukiliti where there is this fundamental condition for the functioning of the water basin, the collecting of water. The greater mass of collected water will be directed into an articificial channel, this is called a works water canal. The power plants and the locks will be built in the works water canal. This is where the energy collected from the water is used. The continuation of the canal after the power station leads the Danube water back to the natural bed; lower down, the dam being built at Nagymaros will ensure a depth of water necessary for shipping in the (?shallows) of the Danube bed. But at the same time a power plant is operating in it and through the damming of the water, it endows the Bos power plant at the same time with the capability of generating peak energy.

Together this whole system guarantees the significant growth of flood security. And the harmonious cofunctioning of these connecting, mutual-aid systems, is guaranteed by the operating order, which is as important as the establishment of the whole project.

What do we get from this? First: Security against flooding will increase to a great extent in the affected area. The dam will become suitable also as protection against the floods which occur every 200 years. The present system gives a 60-100 year security. And we are making an area of 1,000 hectares free from floods for the first time now.

Second: Shipping will become safe in the critical stretch between Pozsony and Budapest—it contributes to the realization of a unified European waterway.

Third: We have at our disposal the capacity to produce 444 megawatt electrical energy, which gives 1,900 million kilowatt-hours of energy annually. This capacity corresponds to one block of the Paks nuclear power station.

Fourth: By regulating the surface waters and streams, with the construction of public utilities, transportation, environmental protection establishments, the foundations are laid for the effective development of a 180km long area along the Danube.

A few more words on the use of the project. The water management conditions of the area are changed and improved by the downflow regulation achieved with the establishment of the barrage project. On the stretch of the Danube which is affected, the construction of the dam solves the river regulation tasks which are carried out at present with continuous, and annually recurring expenditure. A feature of the investment is the regulation of the river mouth stretches of subsidiary water flows, and ordering the lines of their banks. The dam schemes will create a situation which will be more favorable than at present in the internal water relations of the area. The projects to be constructed will at the same time be the recipients of the existing internal water drainage network. With the main project developments, the opportunity arises for the regional expansion of complex melioration. The Szigetkoez water compensatory system will create a ground water level which can be regulated; it will stop the waters which gush out at present over 5,000 hectares, thus improving the conditions of agricultural production in the whole region.

For the industrial and agricultural works situated by the Danube the raised water level will create favorable possibilities for water extraction. We can calculate on the possibility of gaining 30,000 cubic meters of drinking water daily with a quantity of raw water which can be used from the filter system of 15,000 cubic meters daily. The several settlements of the Szigetkoz and Danube

bend will get water utilities from the dam. In the upper part of Szigetkoz, the supply of running drinking water will be resolved in nine settlements.

The investment will create a more favorable situation in water supplies for Domos, Dobogoko, Pilismarot, Nagymarot, Szob, Ipolydamasd, and (?Lepkes) villages, also in the further development of sewage drainage in Esztergom. [passage omitted]

The present state of the Danube stretch between Pozsony and Gonyue limits the navigability of the whole river. Without the dam under construction, even with very costly regulating work, a shipping path of at best 2.3 meters depth can be developed. On average over a longer time-scale however, this value does not exceed 2 meters. At the same time, international proposals for the affected stretch of the Danube advise an immersion value of 3.5 meters, together with water damming. Thus, this critical Danube stretch between Pozsony and Gonyue, following the creation of a European transcontinental waterway—since it is in the center of the shipping line—would have a detrimental influence on the whole of European internal water traffic. The dam makes possible a full quota of shipping; secure night travel; a reduction in haulage power, and cessation of the necessity for reloading.

After the construction of the dam, the productive capacity of the Hungarian fleet utilized in upper Danube traffic will increase, without separate expenditure, by around 25 percent.

This complex project will also improve traffic conditions in the affected region. With the modernization of the railway track stretches threatened by flooding and with the reconstruction of certain stretches of the 10, 11, 12, 1,201 roads which are often flooded, the dam will also aid the development of public roads and railways. The public road bridge leading through the Nagymaros dam has a particular significance; this will primarily serve local demands.

The entrance of the power unit of the dam at the planned time is an integral part of the long-term energy development program. The capacity at disposal can, at the starting point, cover almost a quarter of the country's household consumption. The electrical output that we will get from the dam is, in order, the fifth largest in the country.

The dam will bridge mainly the problems of the years 1990-95 in our energy situation. The high-voltage line and direct current adaptor to be built between Gyor and Vienna will provide a two-direction carrier and will increase the safety of the Hungarian electricity grid. It would be a mistake to forget that of all the socialist countries, only Hungary has not so far had any problems in electricity provision. I think this situation must be preserved in the future as well.

The dam system will promote the general development of adjoining regions. It will create a new potential for the development of vacationing, tourism, and water tourism. It is a fact, however, that the funds to support this are not at the moment at our disposal. In the direct context of the establishment of the dam system, and by utilizing the infrastructure to be built in the vicinity of Dunakiliti, an international center for tourism can be created. There will be the possibility for a similar development in the Danube Bend. On the Visegrad side holiday tourism can be further developed, on the basis of the embankments and lakes to be decided upon, and taking into account, among other things, the long-term settlement development and development objectives of the Pilismarot resort.

The bridge to be constructed will also promote a more coordinated development of the two banks. By making permanent the water levels of the tributaries on the Esztergom side, by replacing their fresh water supplies, and by building an international rowing course, a contribution will be made to developing the region's tourism. With its realization, the dam system will contribute to a significant improvement in the living conditions of the population in the region affected.

Esteemed National Assembly: I would also like to say a few words about some questions which preoccupy public opinion intensely in connection with the dam system. I am referring primarily to the preservation of the environment. Wide-ranging ecological, environmental, and water quality research in the contemporary sense did not begin in the early stage of planning because suitable methods for examination had not at the time been developed either in Europe or elsewhere.

The requirement of preserving and protecting the environment was, to tell the truth, only germinating in this period. But the construction of the dam system is a significant intervention in nature's order. Its effects on the ecosystems and scenery of the stretch of the Danube which already bears the marks of man must not be underestimated. Large projects of this kind undoubtedly cause countereffects in the established ecological systems. They also represent potential sources of danger, together with the fact that they also provide more favorable living conditions for living organisms.

The ecological problems were exposed by the study of environmental effects which was completed in 1985. This study, which was novel even by world standards and which summed up the findings of numerous branches of science, called attention to the fact that long-term infrastructural projects with an effect on a large area and which are likely to be long-lasting cannot continue in the period of construction without paying continued attention to the results of science. The most important tasks for preventing the harmful effects that have been revealed and for taking the necessary countermeasures are contained in the construction plans. But examinations of environmental effects must be continued.

To assess and deal with the ecological risks, which in our present knowledge can only be estimated with great uncertainty, and to detect the effects of the necessary interventions, an expansive measuring and observation network will be constructed along both banks of the Danube. This will measure not only the hydrological, meterological, and hydrographical conditions of the region, but will also register the changes in the micro- and macrobiology of the river and the banks.

Part of this observation network along the Upper Danube is already operational. This multidirectional data-providing, processing, and evaluating network will provide continuous data partly for reliable operation and partly for research.

With this entire project, the government is keeping ecological safety in sight, securing the high-level protection of the environment. The mode of operation to be established will also have to adapt to this requirement.

The quality of the Danube waters is determined together by the flow-rate and the sewage loading. The slowing flow-rate, as a result of the damming, makes the reduction of future sewage loads necessary. Therefore, the program of Hungarian sewage cleaning must be continued; international cooperation must be strengthened in this area, and even solved.

One must also talk about the Szigetkoz, about the situation of the 30-kilometer-long Danube bed which will be altered as a result of the new canal. In this bed 50 to 200 cubic meters can flow per second, except during periods of flooding. With the help of settling the riverbed, a water surface 120-150 meters in width will be created, which will represent all features of the river, including its features as a border river. But this quantity can be even greater, if necessary.

To supply water to this level of the Danube at will, there is no need in the system for a conceptual change or the building of a new artifact. The closure and filling up of the tributaries secure not only the water supply of forests in the flood area but provides a buttress—so to speak—to ground level after flowing toward the Danube at Szigetkoz.

The refilling system is to be built on the basis of well-proven foreign examples in such a way that it should serve the survival and development of the region's flora and fauna, and provide agricultural production with even better conditions than at present at Sziegetkoz.

Our public opinion is also understandably preoccupied by the threatening situations the barrage system might produce and what comprehensive safety for life and property will be like in this region. The planners have formulated the safety philosophy of the barrage sysem by presupposing the coincidence of extreme occurances. The consequences of unexpected events, such as earthquakes, floods, explosions, and exceptional pollution, have been taken into account and checked by calculations and with the aid of models. Thus, after the commissioning of the project, the damming will not cause a threat. This is because on the upper reaches, floods will move down in two beds. And at the Nagymaros barrage, flood waves can move down confined to highly secure reservoir dams by fully opening up the gates, and if necessary, the sluices.

The dimensions of the works are such that they should be able to tolerate without damage even the biggest earthquake that can occur in Hungary. In the event of the Nagymaros barrage being forcibly damaged, the water will stay in the basin even along the stretch of the river that is affected by the construction. If we presuppose the simultaneous occurrence of the most unfortunate coincidences, then the resulting flood wave in Budapest would hardly even reach the lower quay.

Many people are also preoccupied by the fact that border relations will change to our disadvantage on the higher stretch of the Danube in Hungary. The interstate contract, which in our briefing we submitted to the esteemed House, precisely regulates all this: The border will stay exactly where it is today— only in the area of the Dunakiliti storer dam can we expect an exchange of territory amounting to 10/10 hectares, so that in the area of water, in the flooded area, the border line should not be meandering but straight.

On the basis of international law two countries may agree jointly on smaller modifications of this nature.

Esteemed National Assembly, the dam system from the start of its construction has been more than a technical project integrated into an ecological system. It is not a matter of indifference as to how it appears in public awareness. In a rising economic environment, in a stable medium, the social echo of a construction such as this is quite other than in a period when value systems are overturned, and when the possibilities for concrete social activity are not entirely clear. Nowadays we are living through this period—the interruption of the always strongly emphasized continuity which has characterized Hungarian society in recent decades.

In this process, in which intentions are to break with former practice, in the reform impatience, which by now is not always of healthy proportions, suddenly everything becomes questionable which commits us to the past four decades, to their political and economic decisions.

Several groups opposing the dam system have been set up, forming a peculiar part of the domestic environmental protection movement that is being organized. These, wrestling with the lack of openness and organizational possibilities alike, have taken an ever more determined stance against the construction of the dam system. The

debate which they initiated has been conducted with methods that have been unusual in Hungary so far, and has also for a few years extended to ecological and professional issues.

They have also been joined by political groups which are not of an environmental protection nature. With their tactical alliance dealings, the debate has become radical; it is increasingly taking on a political nature. In this debate a proportion of the social environental protection movements, and the new group joining them whose program is unknown to many, is exerting a very strong pressure on public opinion, on the decision-makers, and above all on the parliamentary deputies.

I have no authorization, but several of my deputy friends have said it—that during the night several agitating groups came to them with such an aim.

The statements aimed at undermining certainty and turning the deputies' sense of responsibility and their spiritual awareness into an oppressive burden, have endeavored to transform the dam construction into an emotional problem, into a problem of public mood. Its opponents allude often and much to public opinion, which it is indeed necessary to study for the standpoints to be understood.

A representative public opinion poll, which was also reported in the press in recent days, offers interesting data for the public image that has evolved around the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros dam system. It has been proved that, thanks to mass information, nearly everyone in the country knows about the construction; and half of those asked consider that they have a lot of information. A decisive proportion of the opinion-formers have judged the expected changes positively. Seventy-four percent of those who expresed an opinion consider the investment to be advantageous from the point of view of electrical energy production, while 55 percent of them count on positive effects in international shipping, and 48 percent in flood protection.

With respect to electrical energy production, the biggest proportion of those asked consider development of hydroelectric power plants to be the policy to pursue, while only 10 percent voted, for instance, for power plants using mineral oil and natural gas. Seven percent of those asked believe that the project must not be built under any circumstances.

Esteemed House, in the planning, realization, and operation of a plant which depends on numerous viewpoints, the role of science is indispensable. During the decades of planning preparation, a whole host of representatives of the science branches concerned—both as scientific personalities and as members of the individual professional committees—took stands, expressed opinions, and carried out tasks. Large numbers of scientific workshops, institutions, and faculties dealt with the preparation of the dam. The beginning of this goes back to the start of the fifties, when the Hungarian Academy of Sciences held an international conference on the creation of water barrages.

I mention only by way of example that in 1958 the Hydrological Main Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences already debated the concept. The list of headings of the investigations carried out by the scientific representatives of water management alone amounts to volumes. The summit of this process was the conclusion in 1985 of the study of environmental effects, in which 33 scientific institutions and university faculties took part.

The amended investment proposal of the water barrage system, made on the basis of the assessment of ecological viewpoints, was recommended by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences with agreement by the State Planning Committee for adoption. This took place in 1986.

According to the decision of the science-political committee, much research is also being carried out right now for the remaining tasks of the works' construction and for laying the foundations of the method of operation. Extremely valuable is the National Technological Development Committee's contribution to the preparation of the dam system. With the expression of its professional opinion, it is giving a lot of help at present. The government welcomes the work of METESZ; with the opinions of its branch committees it has helped comprehension of the standpoint even in the past days.

Apart from all this, we have considered it necessary to also seek the opinions of international experts in the matter of the dam. As you well know, at its session on 7 September the government took cognizance of the fact that the Academy was setting up an ad hoc committee to examine the materials placed at its disposal. By 1 October it had prepared its statement, the second one, entitled: The Special Committeee's Nagymaros Dam. And the president of the Academy had sent this one too—the previous one as well—to the government.

I will not dwell in detail on the opinion of the ad hoc committee, since our speaker has ordered that this be distributed, together with the Ministry's professional opinion. I would like to quote the summing up, verbatim:

Our committee, in accordance with its mandate, has considered as its task the scientific analysis of the official submission connected with the continued construction of the Nagymaros hydroelectrical power plant. We are of the view, on the basis of our investigation of a relatively limited extent and depth, that we can establish the following:

The technical-economic elements of the official argument in favor of the continued construction of the

Nagymaros power plant, from the point of view of completion, generally reckon with the most favorable possible conditions, while rather the opposite extreme applies in the assessment of the expected demands of stopping the project.

The stopping or postpoining of the construction, even in the present situation, represents a realistic alternative compared to the continued construction. The postponing of the Nagymaros construction is a solution that could reduce the economic burdens, and would entail unequivocally smaller risks to the environment. So says the verbatim quotation from the summary.

Esteemed National Assembly. You will be able to familiarize yourselves with our detailed opinion if you will kindly read the document I have mentioned. We cannot identify with the quoted stance of the special committee. The analysis, lacking in detailed calculations, does not take into account the fundamental concept of the dam system—that it forms a multifunctional system. It examines the Nagymaros barrage in isolation from its context. This could be a reason for the inaccuracies of its conclusions. The stances of the various ad hoc committees, as early as 1983—which the Academy is justified in criticizing that they were not made public—and the material of the 1985 roundtable discussion which it was justified in criticizing again; the stances of these various committees criticized before and are criticizing at present the lack of a comprehensive macroeconomic and investment return analysis. I must add that these calculations—there are many personalities here who must carry out an investment project, this is proceeding according to ecological prescriptions—our calculations were made in accordance with this. [sentence as heard] [passage omitted]

Esteemed House. I would like to discuss how much this work is costing the country. It is costing a great deal. [passage omitted]

I would like to mention only the main figures here, which for many will come as repetition. The Austrian advance which I have spoken of and which is in the report is 18,427 million forints, which we shall repay in a closed construction with electricity. Before the completion of the work, 20 billion forints in expenditure, in round figures, will burden the Hungarian side. If I assume an inflation rate of 8 to 12 percent—this is not identical to consumption inflation, this is investment inflation, then the outstanding burden of this on Hungarian financial resources is some 26-28 billion forints.

Sewage treatment plans for Gyor, Komarom, Esztergom, Oroszlany will be built from a separate central fund. This is not included in this. This will call on another 7 billion forints in resources. So the material burdens of realization ahead of us amount in total to 33-35 billion forints, according to our knowledge and calculations applying primarily to external economic relations.

But since we sent out the briefing, we have prepared another set of calculations. [passage omitted]

The complete construction and operation until 2015 will bring revenues in excess of 35 billion forints in investment and operating costs. On the other hand, if the Nagymaros barrage is abandoned, the costs of investment and operation, taking into account also the individual realization of substitute projects, would cause a surplus cost of 22 billion forints to the Hungarian People's Republic until that date. [passage omitted]

The river regulating developments for flood and inland water protection would not be realized. The shipping problems would remain unaltered in the critical Hungarian stretch. From the traffic point of view, first and foremost, putting off the bridge construction between Nagymaros and Visegrad would represent a loss. From the viewpoint of energy there would be a loss in the Hungarian electrical energy system amounting to an output of over 300 megawatts.

Among the economic consequences, we also have to take account of the expected Czechoslovak demand for compensation in the event of a modification in the contract, with regard to their unneccessary and accelerated investments, as well as the loss in their share of peak energy and other benefits.

In the event of the Hungarian-Austrian chief contractor's agreement being overthrown, we have to reckon with demands to be paid in foreign currency, part of which would already appear next year.

The Hungarian enterprises too could come forward with a 1 billion demand.

Therefore, summing up on the basis of the above points, in the event of the water barrage being halted, our investment burdens would not diminish. The costs of a replacement power plant and the fuel materials would represent a one-off and then a continuous foreign currency burden. The expected demands for compensation would approach—I do not say this gladly, for these will emerge as a result of the legal actions—we have calculated very many times, but their extent can be reckoned at some tens of billions of forints, even for the avoidance of legal actions. A significant proportion of this is capitalist foreign currency.

The original development targets would not be realized; the breaking of the contracts would with every certainty have foreign political consequences for the country. On the basis of all this, the halting of the construction of the nagymaros barrage would not diminish the burdens of the national economy; what is more, we would have to reckon with material losses.

Esteemed National Assembly, the history of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros dam system teaches us a lot of lessons. I would like to mention a few of these. It is our duty to

formulate these lessons; our futue work of country-building could benefit if we take them to heart. By now we see very clearly how much harm was caused by the lack of openness, by superficially handled information, by unjustified silence.

The inadequate degree to which the risk elements were revealed, the failure to pay heed to public opinion, have given rise to a lack of confidence; moreover they have sparked off antipathy.

In a debate burdened with such antecedents alongside helpful observations, passions instead of rational agrument intervene, and the question justifiably arises whether a decision wrongly taken can be good.

The government is aware how great a burden it is if a standpoint has to be evolved by taking into consideration the multifaceted opinions of social groups of not insignificant proportions. In taking the decision, however, there is only one viewpoint: This is the interest of the people.

For the government it is unequivocal that in the future, before such large-scale decisions are made, the opinion of society must be extensively taken into account. Social control must be guaranteed. Only in this way, and only in this manner, can social consensus be expected.

Such a big undertaking—this has also been proved—requires a larger degree of participation and cooperation by professional scientific circles. There is a need for a kind of broad professional pluralism already from the very first period of planning.

The case of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros dam system is a good example of the fact that although the preparation of the decision had extended to a great number of issues, even the ever-so-unequivocal advantages can be question-marked if a conviction about them takes shape only within a narrow profession. And it is precisely the debates alluding to the dam's environmental effects which show that in our fast-changing world it is now vital that the newly-formed scientific fields, such as ecology and decision theory, be immediately involved in the work of decision preparation. But the participation of sociology, politology, landscape aesthetics, and other sciences is not dispensable either.

The criticisms connected with the dam's economic issues, its budget burdens, also teach us many lessons. It has once more become evident that long-term developmental concepts can become a burden if the economic, environmental, and the expected processes are not analyzed in a sufficiently circumspect manner. For this reason of course, their present-day judgement, justification and effectiveness can be question-marked.

It is a determined and unequivocal requirement that no investment should begin whose timeliness and economic justification cannot be proved in advance with great probability.

It is a lesson worth considering that during the past years, the citizens' attention and sensitivity to the human environment has happily been developed. Also for this reason, the building of the dam system is being followed with increased interest by society. It is not alien to our administration—on the contrary, it accords with its intention—that environmental protection, environmental management, should fully take its place in Hungarian society. It fully asserts its demand that this should also be so in the continued construction of the plant and in developing its operational system.

The analyses also prove that although the concluded interstate, international, and private contracts accord with existing legal practice, it can be seen today that a greater thoroughness and better cooperation within the government would have made possible a fuller assertion of our national interests.

The technical preparation of the dam system continued for a long time, and I maintain that it was laudably thorough. Even so it has some aspects which need criticizing. Little has been said about the state of the Danube basin, which has been damaged independently of the dam—even before its construction—as a result of the excessive gravel production. In connection with the operation of the plant, this will cause a problem for shipping and water quality. The Danube basin can be cured, but this will also have financial consequences.

Today it can be seen, too, that the ship sluices are wider than is definitely necessary. The reason for this is that the technical, economical, and professional debate has not been adequately carried through. Consequently this has entailed an increase in construction costs, in a greater area requirement, and in shipping problems. By now, in any event, harsh criticism must be leveled at this.

One of the generally accompanying phenomena of Hungarian investments is that we do not usually complete them. Thus, neither the profit nor the joy is complete. As for the outlay, that will be recouped belatedly, or not completely, even. This is a danger that also threatens in the case of the dam system. This was one of the things to which the comrade deputies drew attention with great emphasis, those comrade deputies who visited the area of the construction. This danger is more than a supposition. Because right up to this time, comprehensive work has not been started on the economic, tourist, and other developments that would exploit the region's increased potential. And yet, if the social capital invested in the plant is to become profitable, this would be required.

It is only worth constructing the dam system if we make it complete.

Esteemed Parliament: To summarize what has been said, the government is formulating its stance as follows:

1. The dam system must be built in accordance with the original concept—that is, with the Nagymaros barrage. Without its complete realization the technical, economic, and development goals which supported the decision in favor of the project cannot be attained. The modification of the concept would cause substantial damage.

2. Ecological risks must be minimized. Ecological considerations must precede economic interests both during construction and operation.

3. As a basic principle of the operation, it must be declared that the quality of the waters of the Danube cannot deteriorate. The peak-running operation can only begin after the establishment on both sides of the sewage treatment plants which are necessary for operations without ecological risks. It is expedient to set the environmental conditions required for operation in an intergovernment agreement with the Czechoslovak partner.

4. The monitoring-detection system for the detection of environmental effects must be developed and operated in such a way that there should be regular information about changes in all significant elements of the environment at the disposal of the operation.

5. The main directions and tasks of land development in the areas affected by the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros barrage system must be worked out. This should embrace the areas of industry, agriculture, tourism, and settlement development. Care must be taken to ensure that the economic benefits offered by the work and these developments should appear in the people's economy as soon as possible.

6. It is justified to organize a social committee for the remaining period of the construction work and to attentively follow the operation and to supervise it. The committee should be entrusted by the government.

7. The organization of a research and development committee to work alongside the minister of water management and environmental protection. This should help in the coordination of research work and the evaluation of research work.

8. Society must continually be informed about the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros barrage system so that the work's purpose, operation, and social and economic benefits are fully known to our people.

Esteemed National Assembly: The exploitation of hydroelectric potential increases by 4 percent per year internationally. [passage omitted]

Let us not, and we cannot in any case, hide our heads in the sand ostrich-style. We cannot ask: Why do we need a hydoelectric power station, why do we need a nuclear power plant [as heard] when there is electricity in the socket?

The government must accept responsibility for the entire nation, even if the price of this is that is must oppose the opinions of certain groups. This is because it must also think of future generations and of the fact that if it now decides contrary to its convictions and to recognized rationality, it will justifiably later be called to account.

The critics' room for maneuvering is considerably greater than that of the actors, and the responsibility they can shoulder is also that much smaller.

It is hardly debatable that the tensions which have by now accumulated in society, social problems, and so many contradictions in the political search for a direction are also weighing on this debate. There are demands for remedying numerous injured interests which have nothing to do with the barrage system. But I ask you: If we were to abandon the barrage, would these problems be solved?

Not long ago a speaker said here on Kossuth Square in front of many people that the many billions of forints arising from the abandonment of the Nagymaros barrage is a reasonable price to pay for the confidence of the people. Maybe, but the government is not an adherent of buying confidence for money. And as for the badly phrased question of the outside speaker: barrage or democracy—there can only be one reply in the interest of the future: barrage and democracy. [applause] For both are needed, both by us and by our heirs. Esteemed parliament. In the name of the government, I ask you to accept the briefing. [applause]

Whitehead Departs 18 Oct

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[Text] Budapest, October 18 (MTI)—John C. Whitehead, deputy secretary of state of the United States of America, left Budapest on Tuesday. Mr Whitehead, who visited Hungary from October 16 to 18, met Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and prime minister. At the meeting the sides noted with agreement that Hungarian-American relations are developing well. The Hungarian side pointed out that the international climate favours further extension of bilateral cooperation.

Barcikowski Meets Pope, Glemp in Rome
LD1910004788 Warsaw PAP in English
0014 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] Rome, Oct. 18—Deputy President of the Council of State, Co-chairman of the Joint Government-Episcopate Commission, Kazimierz Barcikowski, who took part in the observances connected with the 10th anniversary of Pope John Paul 2 Pontificate, and was received by the pontiff at an audience, met with Primate Cardinal Jozef Glemp in the Polish college here today. The meeting was attended by the head of the team for permanent working contacts between the Polish Government and the Apostolic See, Minister Jerzy Kuberski.

In the team's seat Barcikowski also met with the co-chairman of the Government-Episcopate Commission, Metropolitan of Cracow Cardinal Franciszek Macharski, the episcopates secretary—Archbishop Bronislaw Dabrowski co- chairman of the Mixed Episcopate-Vatican Commission (which has just begun another meeting here devoted to work aimed at the full normalization of relations between Poland and the Holy See) as well as the Metropolitan of Poznan, Archbishop Jerzy Stroba.

The meeting was attended by the head of the Vatican's team for permanent working contacts with the Polish Government, papal nuncio for special assignments, Archbishop Francesco Colasuonno.

During a meeting with Polish press Rome correspondents Barcikowski, referring to the papal audience, stressed that the very fact that it took place was very important, and that the special mission which he fulfilled of conveying to Pope John Paul 2 cordial greetings from the president of the Council of State was a significant element of the commemoration by Poland of the 10th anniversary of the Pontificate.

Barcikowski once more stressed the cordial atmosphere of this meeting and satisfaction with the talks conducted in the Vatican which undoubtedly mirror the correct relations between the state and church in Poland.

Today Kazimierz Barcikowski left Rome, Cardinal Macharski returned to Cracow on the same plane. The men were bidden farewell at the airport by Minister Jerzy Kuberski. Present was also the Polish Ambassador Jozef Wiejacz.

PRC's Qiao Shi Arrives, Met by Czyrek
LD1910010588 Warsaw PAP in English
2322 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 18—A delegation of the CC of the Chinese Communist Party, led by Qiao Shi, member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Party's CC, arrived in Poland today. The Chinese visitor and accompanying persons were greeted at Warsaw airport by Jozef Czyrek, Political Bureau member and PUWP CC secretary, and other officials.

Cooperation between the PUWP and the Chinese Communist Party has intensified of late. It gained fresh stimuli as a result of the visit paid by PUWP CC First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski to Beijing in 1986 and last year's visit to Poland by the then acting General Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party Zhao Ziyang.

Apart from visits paid by members of both parties leaderships trips of study groups are organized. The basic aim of these meetings is to exchange experiences in the field of economic and political transformations.

Bonn Politicians Upbeat on Rakowski Relations
LD1910010888 Warsaw PAP in English
2303 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] Bonn, Oct. 18—In no other capitalist country is Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski as popular as in the FRG, to none has he paid so many many visits and with no other Western country has Poland so many matters to settle. All this makes a sufficient reason to ask Bonn politicians whether Poland's premier is a chance for Poland and also a chance for Polish-FRG relations. Following are some of the answers to these questions:

Spokesman for Foreign Affairs of the CDU/CSU parliamentary floor group Michaela Geiger: "I think that there are good reasons to be able to move ahead and on the basis of mutual knowledge and understanding lead to a further improvement of bilateral relations."

Helmut Becker, member of the leadership of the SPD Bundestag floor group, chairman of the SPD Parliamentary Circle for Polish Affairs: "I am convinced that Premier Rakowski will take pains to put economic and socio-political situation in Poland on the good track. I think that basing on experiences which he gained at home and abroad he will be able to make a number of positive moves."

FDP the coalition ruling party, Presidium Member Manfred Brunner: "I welcome the nomination of Mieczyslaw Rakowski with satisfaction. He creates good premises for advancing the joint dialogue of all social groups in Poland and for finding a way out from the country's poor economic situation."

Mrs Hamm-Bruecher, FDP deputy, former minister of state at the FRG's Foreign Ministry: "Rakowski is a chance for Poland. For the Polish-FRG relations, this nomination is a pure profit as all of us who were engaged in the dialogue constantly came across Rakowski. Thus we do not have to start from the scratch with a new man."

Chairman of Bundestag Foreign Affairs Committee, Hans Starcken: "The Bundestag Committee for Foreign Affairs hailed with pleasure the fact that the government and the Foreign Ministry are headed by personalities who know the FRG very well. We would like the federal chancellor to go to Poland as soon as possible."

"If Rakowski's nomination brings about a concentrated internal dialogue and due to it the arena of foreign manoeuvre is expanded, this will be a good premise for progress in mutual relations so that the chancellor's Moscow visit may in the shortest possible time be followed by his visit to Poland."

Baka on Consolidation Plan Guidelines

Gives Plan Details

LD1810221988 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Remarks by Politburo member Wladyslaw Baka to unidentified correspondent on 18 October—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] It is nearly 1700 [1600 GMT]. The Politburo's deliberations are still continuing in this hall, but the discussion of one of the points has already finished: the guidelines of the Consolidation Plan:

[Baka] This is not a consolidation plan. These are political guidelines to the Consolidation Plan that will be obligatory for party members in the government and Sejm in the course of work on the actual, developed government document. I am convinced that these aims that are put in the guidelines are aims answering to the needs of people. These are the needs of the moment, such as, for instance, the improvement of market supply and the improvement of shopping conditions, the significant acceleration of housing construction, the slowing down of price increases, and a general improvement in the service to citizens in institutions and administrative offices. This can be done in the course of 2 years, but it is important that the road be set for a longer run. The Politburo accepted seven points.

The first point: The transfer of productive forces to where they will best serve the aims. The second point: An offer to our creditors to solve the problems of indebtedness. The third point: An opening for the undertaking of economic activity in all sectors, an equality of conditions for activity—private, state, co-operative and other. The fourth point: An efficient and stable economic system for enterprises and other economic units. The fifth point: New principles for prices and incomes policy—price must be an external parameter in relation to the enterprise; incomes cannot be empty, incomes must have coverage on the market.

[Correspondent] From the point of view of these (?purchasers) [Word indistinct].

[Baka] Precisely, this is important. This is precisely... [Baka changes thought] Without this principle, the citizen will not be able to purchase what he expects in the [word indistinct] shop. This is this (?about turn), unfortunately, in policy. The sixth point is the shaping of market conditions. Without market conditions there is no functioning of the market and we must finally become aware of this, and draw the full conclusions from this and strengthen the currency. Without aiming for a healthy zloty neither the market will function nor will the principles of the reform function. There will be no progress. And the seventh point, finally: the competent direction of the economy, at all levels, starting from the enterprise and right up to the center. These are very important points. Their introduction into life will demand more than one conflict.

(?Association) with more than one conflict will demand the overcoming of more than one particular concern, force. That is why this program also demands the consolidation of social forces. That is why we feel that the problems of the Consolidation Plan, where the point is especially that of something for something, should constitute the subject of a new social accord. We feel that the matters of the Consolidation Plan should become a very important part of the deliberations of the roundtable.

[Presenter] The members of the Politburo also familiarized themselves with the conclusions resulting from the visits of Wojciech Jaruzelski in Bulgaria and Jambyn Batmonh in Poland and also a report on the Moscow Days in Warsaw. The Politburo also accepted the substantive and organizational guidelines from the 10th Central Committee Plenum.

Further Baka Statement on Plan

LD1910011988 Warsaw PAP in English 0034 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 18—The assumptions of the National Economy Consolidation Plan and goals of the economic policy outlined at the 8th PUWP CC Plenary Session are fully convergent, and this is how the Political Bureau has assessed this, Wladyslaw Baka, Political Bureau member and PUWP CC secretary, said in a statement for PAP. He went on to say:

"However, at present we have at our disposal the meaningful concretization of directions which were specified by the 8th plenum. The guidelines of the consolidation plan—examined and accepted by the Political Bureau—constitute an obligation and inspiration for party members to implement a definite line of the economic policy.

"Our goals can be divided into two groups: current ones, attainable within a relatively short time, and prospective, long-term targets. The first group includes improvement in market supplies as well as in services rendered to citizens. It is also necessary to list in this group the start of the process of a visible increase in the effects of housing construction.

"Prospective goals are in fact the continuation of tasks ensuing from economic reform. What matters is the balancing, and thus forming, of a genuine market as concerns both consumer and investment goods. Fundamental changes are necessary in the housing sector not only to build faster and more but also to abandon all

regulations hampering the rational use of flats and public energy which could be devoted to satisfy this most important need of every family.

"The plan's assumptions also envisage that a significant qualitative change will be made in the sphere of the protection of environment treated as a basic and hard-to-reconstruct value of man and society."

More on Rakowski's 14 Oct Press Conference

AU1810154188 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15-16 Oct 88 pp 5, 6

[PAP report: "Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski's Press Conference," given in Warsaw on 14 October]

[Text] Immediately after the conclusion of the Sejm debates, Premier M. Rakowski met with domestic and foreign journalists at a press conference, lasting 90 minutes and chaired by Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban. Welcoming the journalists, J. Urban said that in three countries—Italy, Canada, and some other country—the press had written, all at the same time, that Premier Rakowski's job is the most difficult in Europe. I therefore introduce the holder of this most difficult job, although it is actually unnecessary to introduce M. Rakowski to this gathering.

The conference began with questions.

Jerzy Gonczarski, EXPRESS WIECZORNY: Could you tell us who refused to join your government?

[Rakowski] I spoke to Professor Trzeciakowski, Andrzej Micewski, and Mr Julian Auleytner. To this last person, I offered the post of minister of labor and social policy. To Mr Trzeciakopwski I offered the post of vice premier. I also spoke to my former POLITYKA colleague Aleksander Paszynski and offered him the post of secretary of state in charge of housing construction, but he declined my offer.

Tadeusz Kucharski, TIME MAGAZINE: How does the premier assess the results of his efforts to form a cabinet with a broader social base? What prospects do you see for the future?

[Rakowski] For the present, my assessment is negative, of course. I would prefer those to whom I made offers to be now in the government which was approved by the Sejm today. I think that their presence in the government would have changed the political situation in Poland rather strongly and would actually have created a new situation, one favorable to the idea of national accord. If the persons I approached had joined the government, the roundtable meeting could be held in a much better climate and the chances of achieving a compromise would be much greater. But I did say in my speech in the Sejm that the doors remain open, and that is why I do not think that my efforts should be seen as thoroughly negative. I have failed at this stage, but I assume and believe that I will succeed in the foreseeable future.

Wlodzimierz Lozinski, TRYBUNA LUDU: Comrade premier, in your speech yesterday you announced a new style of government work. You yourself, and the new faces in the government make us hope that your announcement is a serious proposition. In view of that new style, how do you want to combine determination and consistency in action with openness and with broad contacts with the Polish public?

[Rakowski] In my opinion, the one does not exclude the other. One may conduct a very consistent policy and subject it to public judgment all the time. This is obvious to me. I treat everything I say very seriously, especially what I said in the Sejm. I think that it is possible to conduct a policy that is resolute and unequivocally determined by people's needs and expectations—a policy that originated in 1981 when I was vice premier in General Jaruzelski's government. I pointed out that this was a policy with the "curtain raised," and that it would continue to be such. I will pursue it with added militancy.

CSSR Television: Comrade premier, in your Sejm speech yesterday you presented your government. You also said that you had offered four ministerial posts to representatives of the constructive opposition. Unfortunately, the opposition did not respond to your offer. I ask you: Is the government's approach to that constructive opposition too lenient and too delicate?

[Rakowski] I do not think so. I think that our approach to people who regard themselves as the constructive opposition or whom we consider as such opposition is very reasonable and takes into account the changes that continue to take place in our society and in the socialist community. Those offers were not an expression of leniency or weakness. They were simply an expression of a realistic assessment of the situation. We should continue our efforts to achieve the complete victory of realism on all sides.

Kay Withers, THE BALTIMORE SUN: Deputy Secretary of State John Whitehead said this morning that he signed a protocol of intent on an aid-to-Poland act for 1988, in line with which the zloty earnings from sales of goods sent to Poland under the arrangements of this act would be used for humanitarian assistance for the Polish people. Since the Polish authorities continue to reiterate that they desire economic partnership and not charity, I wonder why the Polish side has agreed to accept another plan with regard to parcels for Poland. Is that what you had in mind in the Sejm yesterday when you spoke of bigger steps? Do you think a day will come when the Polish authorities and people will reject such assistance as something which only embarrasses the country, that neither belongs to the Third World nor is a victim of some natural disaster?

[Rakowski] When I spoke about these issues in the Sejm I did not have in mind a zloty assistance fund as an example of a big stride in Polish-U.S. relations. I had in mind other issues: a much greater scope for Polish-U.S. economic and trade cooperation. What I had in mind primarily was the prospect of a positive stance by the U.S. in international organizations such as the IMF or the World Bank, in which the United States plays a great role. We hope that efforts to encourage U.S. businessmen and international financiers to take specific steps vis-a-vis Poland will help our proposals and postulates, which have nothing to do with begging, to be attended to. Our proposals and postulates result from our offer to promote economic cooperation based on respect for and the equality of each partner. I know how Mr Whitehead's press conference developed and I thoroughly studied President Ronald Reagan's telegram to me. Today, opportunities are beginning to open up for the acceleration of our relations, including economic relations.

Tadeusz Zakrzewski, Polish Television: You have said that your government is made up of successful people. Could you give us an example of at least one success for each new member of the new government?

[Rakowski] Primarily, I could mention myself, in that I have achieved success by stepping onto this podium and speaking to you as premier. But speaking seriously and citing a random example, I would like to mention Mr Jastrzebski, the new minister for foreign economic cooperation, who as manager of the Paged company has increased the company's exports by 200 percent in 2 years. I think that this is a specific example of a successful man—a man of action. Mieczyslaw Wilczek, the new minister of industry, is a classic example of a successful man. He has achieved success thanks to his qualities such as ingenuity, inventiveness, and an economic ability to focus on what can produce economic results and boost production.

Julian Bartosz, SPRAWY I LUDZIE: Those who talk about the need to change the structure of the Polish economy have in mind the consequences of the labor market. What measures is your government preparing in order to be able to cope with certain social consequences that may affect tens of thousands, if not hundreds of thousands of workers in those sectors of the economy which must undergo structural changes? What specific measures do you have in mind? Will the Social Security Agency be saddled with a new burden? Or will a new fund be set up? Will a new tax be devised for employees and employers? Since we are talking about the market and about matters that concern the market economy, will the adjustments of the labor market be adequate to certain Western solutions?

[Rakowski] I stated quite plainly in my Sejm speech yesterday that the government, the state, and society will protect those who are unable to give more of themselves. On the other hand, we will seek to ensure that all those who are able to give more of themselves enjoy the right conditions to do so. That is my first point. I also asked the Sejm and the public whether they are ready to accept a situation in which people look for jobs, and not the other way round. The thing is that I think that Poland does not face the threat of mass unemployment, because there are tens of thousands of jobs to be filled. I do not have in mind the reinforcement of the present work forces in plants, even though many plants in, say, Lodz, continue to employ only one shift of workers as there are not enough workers to man a second shift. I have in mind the services sector, which is a very large sector, one that has been incredibly neglected.

It will certainly be unpleasant for many people to have to move away from the places in which they live and work or to which they commute to work, and to have to learn new jobs. With regard to the provision of conditions under which people can be retrained, it is obvious that the state must not remain indifferent to such a state of affairs and claim that it is not its concern. We will do what is necessary in that regard. Actually, I am in favor of a situation in which many people who can now be counted among so-called surplus manpower will be able to be employed by those sectors of the economy that really need them and that have to be developed in order to improve our living standards.

Bogdan Marysow, VOA: Mr Premier, I would like to ask you about specific preparations for the coming roundtable talks. What does the government expect of these talks?

[Rakowski] Specific preparations are still under way, and I have not attended them in the past few days. I this connection, I would like to poke fun at a commentary published by some Western newspaper I do not know the name of, to the effect that the roundtable meeting is being prepared, but Premier Rakowski continues to stand aside from it. That newspaper has suggested that no one knows what Premier Rakowski thinks: whether he is in favor of that roundtable meeting, or whether he opposes it. Someone has even written that perhaps some contradictions exist between General Kiszczak and myself. Fancy is nothing strange to the profession of which I was once a member. Well, I want to say that I am a member of the party leadership and that the idea of the roundtable meeting was conceived by the leadership of my party. Of course, I was there when that concept was born, and that is why there is no contradiction and no standing on the sidelines. This is my first observation. The second one concerns preparations. Getting down to that roundtable is a difficult proposition, because the partners concerned continue to air differing views about it. Still, I think that the roundtable meeting will take place. My third observation concerns the question of my expectations in connection with the roundtable meeting. I think that conditions are present in Poland to enable us to alleviate various prejudices and relationships produced by the experiences of 1981. In a word, looking objectively at the development of the Polish situation in the past few years, I think that the soil for accord (of

course, I also understand this accord as a compromise) is now much more fertile and favorable than it was a few years ago. That is why, contrary to various black predictions and laments, I think that we continue to forge ahead step by step toward really creating a feasible and not an ideal front of national accord. I am calmly looking forward to debates and their results, and I am altogether against getting excited about that roundtable meeting. When the meeting has begun we will see how its first round develops, and what positions and views are revealed. As things are, too much noise is being made about the roundtable idea and too much is being made of it by the mass media.

Andrzej Nalecz-Jawecki, VETO: Mr Premier, I would like to know whether market issues should be among the new government's priority tasks. First, such issues have a great bearing on society's moods and, second, the quality of life depends directly on the flow of goods.

[Rakowski] I cannot remember which journalist wrote that our people are less interested in the roundtable meeting than in a richly-laden dinner table. There is no doubt that the government, of which I am now in charge, must focus its attention precisely on how to ensure that our dinner tables are better laden than they are today. I mean that all issues of the flow of goods must catch the central eye of the government. I am not disclosing any secret when I say that my primary task will be the issue of our dinner tables. On the other hand, under the arrangements of the division of labor, my colleagues will deal with the issue of the roundtable meeting.

Dag Halvorsen, NORWEGIAN PRESS: Does the government intend to accelerate its work on the bill on associations? In this context, does the premier see a role for associations that describe themselves as lay and social democratic?

[Rakowski] The work on the bill on associations has now reached a very advanced stage, and I think my friend J. Urban has informed the journalists to this effect. As for your question about whether I see a place for lay and social democratic associations in our country after the bill in question has passed into law, let me answer by citing the following verse: "Oh God, how large is your zoological garden!" Many associations of various types have been set up in Poland, and some of them have been set up for no more than tea-time conversations and others are interesting because of the goals they have set themselves. I assume that when the bill in question has passed into law, we will have a gamut of the most varied organizations, some of which will wither away by themselves after a time, because the very fact that they have been set up will satisfy the ambitions of their organizers and some—probably the valuable ones—will live on. You have asked me whether a social democratic group will be organized in our country. Well, insofar as I know, we even have champions of monarchy in Poland, and perhaps these champions will also set up their own organization. I leave that to the future. Let me add that the government is aware of what organizations are now being set up in our country. The simple thing is that we want to treat in earnest the organizations that seek serious goals, ones that can benefit our society. We want to be in contact with and listen to the views of such organizations.

Monika Olejnik, Polish Radio Third Program: Could you tell us the reasons given by the persons who refused your offer? Do they not want to assume responsibility at all, do they not want to assume any important functions in our country?

[Rakowski] I assume the main reason is that they thought it was too soon to take up this offer, because the "roundtable" has not started, and they thought it better to wait. I think that is the main reason, though I do not agree with it. I have already said that I think it is wiser to join the government and act on the inside, as Sejm deputy Wojna put it. I do not mean that one should be a Trojan horse, but one should alter the political map of the country from the inside and change Polish reality. Was there any reluctance to assume joint responsibility and take part in the process of government? I admit that one of the people with whom I spoke, a Catholic activist, told me this: "If I were you, I would not expect too many to accept your offer. My friends prefer to stand on the sidelines and criticize." In any case, this attitude is quite widespread in Poland, and it is prevalent not only among those milieus with whom I have spoken.

Alma Kaldragic, ABC News: Mr Premier, could you tell us what exactly is holding the government back from organizing the "roundtable"? We have been told many times that it would take place sometime in the middle of the month. Does this mean the government is using the "roundtable" as a carrot dangling on a stick, and trying to excite the population and the opposition?

[Rakowski] This is not a game on our part. There are no reasons to play any game, or to postpone the matter, or to distract people from other more important affairs. That is not the point at all. We put forth the idea of the "roundtable" after a very careful analysis of the developing political and social situation in the country. This does not conceal any tactics. I would say it is a strategic plan, aimed at a real energetic involvement by other forces in shaping the kind of Poland that ought to take shape in the coming years. Nevertheless, I will repeat something that is quite understandable—it is taking a long time to decide on the composition of the "roundtable" and its procedures. After all, the people taking part on our side have other things to do apart from the "roundtable." They are running the country.

Ryszarda Kazimierska, KURIER POLSKI: When forming the government, did you use the results of the opinion polls conducted by Colonel Kwiatkowski's Public Opinion Research Center?

[Rakowski] I do so every day, but so far these polls have failed to take into account the position of those to whom I proposed participation in the government.

Australian TV: Your predecessor said that his cabinet was used as a scapegoat in a difficult moment. Why should your government succeed?

[Rakowski] I never heard any such thing from the lips of my predecessor. As far as I remember, that is how the Western press commented on his departure. One cannot say my predecessor left this building without having achieved any success during the difficult years in which he headed the Polish Government. There are positive and negative features on his account. Will my government succeed? There are possibilities of taking certain steps which may turn out to be successful. Of course, the success will not match up to present expectations, because we know the conditions in which we live. Nevertheless, I believe decisions that can improve the situation are possible to take in Poland. I believe that the accumulated energy and desire of the people on whom I am counting—I mean socially energetic individuals—provides a chance of success.

Jacek Wegrowski, INTERPRESS: The U.S. deputy secretary of state, with whom you have met, told me this morning that Polish-American relations may develop by "long strides." Do you think there is such a chance in the political sphere?

[Rakowski] I think this depends mainly on the United States. I received with great satisfaction Mr Whitehead's statement that big steps may be taken. His statement on this subject pleased me very much.

Juliusz Solecki, PAP: Yesterday, you said you were going to suggest new party-government relations. Could you comment?

[Rakowski] I have expressed my view many times in my articles. I fully agree with PZPR First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski, who said that the party is not going to be a political insurance policy for the government. I believe that as a Politburo member, I am accountable to the Politburo on how I and other PZPR ministers are pursuing the party's social and economic objectives. I am obliged to take the party's view into consideration in economic and social policy. Of course, that does not mean that these relations have to be stiff. In addition, one has to remember that the government consists of a tripartite coalition, and I am considering how to establish these relations, hear this coalition's wishes, and be answerable to this coalition. This zenith of government independence is being implemented every day. As head of the government, the ministers I have proposed are my own choice.

Juliusz Solecki, PAP: You said there might be progress in relations with the FRG, even a breakthrough. Do you think this hope will be echoed on the banks of the Rhine, where a wait-and-see attitude is to be felt concerning relations with Poland?

[Rakowski] I am still waiting to hear this echo.

Bernard Margueritte, French press: It seems that the pressmen whom you have known for a long time are kindly disposed toward you, even though they do criticize you. This criticism is to be heard mainly from those who believe that if the efforts of Gorbachev and the Polish and Hungarian government fail, very hard times will befall these countries and East-West relations as well. It seems to me that in the past, you were more prone to please your opponents than to admit that your supporters are right. The key to your government's success is for Rakowski to be Rakowski at last, in other words a human being. Can one entertain such a hope?

[Rakowski] Thank you for the assurances of kindness, even if it is colored by criticism. I do not expect my former journalist colleagues to write about me exclusively in kind terms. That is not the point. I need kindness and am counting on it. At the same time, I expect criticism to be specific and based on facts. I will always examine this kind of criticism and draw conclusions from it.

It is not true that I always wanted to please my opponents, as you call them, meaning people in the PZPR who were not so keen on the idea of reform as I was. I have been a PZPR member for 40 years. It is my party. I have approached its members and aktivs many times in the past, and will continue to do so. If I said that the party has to believe in itself and be energetic, that is the way I view my party and its needs. Every politician has a friends and enemies. I also have my avowed opponents, and I know I will never convince them. But I also have devoted supporters, whom I thank for being behind me. I have always tried to be Rakowski, and I will be. But politics also has its own laws—its own strategy, tactics, and current needs. However, there are many views that I have held for many years, including the need for the widest possible freedom of the individual.

Bernard Margueritte, French press: Nothing was said about accord for a very long time, and nowadays we hear about practically nothing else. It seems that accord is being slightly overvalued. Of course it is necessary, but even so it will not make much difference. Is it not more important for your government to act and convince society that something new is really happening? Is it not more important that this government should show that it will gain social support for its work?

[Rakowski] We always value your analyses, Mr Margueritte, because they are based on a knowledge of Polish reality. I agree that the government;s chief task is to prove to society that it is capable of doing something to

speed up the economic reform process. This process must bear fruit—not in the shape of laws and directives, but in the shape of tangible material results. This is our government's first commandment. A lot can be said about democracy, accord, and understanding, but everyone gauges the success of a given government's policy according to how much he has in his pocket and what he can find on the market. This is an obvious truth, and I have to adhere to it.

Bogdan Unichimowski, GLOS SZCZECINSKI: For many years there has been concern in the north-western corner of Poland about a threat to the Polish raison d'etat. I mean the Gulf of Pomerania. Will the "open curtain" also apply to this sphere of our international relations?

[Rakowski] Talks on this subject are continuing, and that is why they have not yet been made public. In diplomacy and in politics, there are matters that should not be revealed at a given time. I think the time will come for complete information on this topic.

John Collins, NEW YORK TIMES: In the Sejm yesterday, you warned radical oppositionists against dismantling socialism in stages. Is your program of government activity not a dismantling of socialism? What is the socialism whose dismantling you are warning against?

[Rakowski] It is difficult for me to give a lecture on the principles of modern socialism here and now. In no way do the changes taking place in the socialist economy mean a dismantling of socialism. What they mean is that the economy is acquiring reality by being based on the laws that govern economic processes. My warning was addressed to those who are not concerned with improving and reviving socialism, but with replacing it with something else.

Bogumil Czarminski, Polish TV: Is it because of the state's weakness that the strength of religion is creating a new state-church alliance and placing believers at a primary level of importance? The increase in the activity of Catholic groups and the growth of the church's role as mediator are causing fears about a departure from thinking in terms of state-church relations. What are the guarantees against this?

[Rakowski] I think there is no such danger. We are creating a compromise in Poland. I mean co-existence between Catholics and Marxists. I mean a state like ours, that is led by laymen and Catholics on the principle of a recognition by us that religions and the forms and places for expressing religious feelings all form part of the objective reality. Religion is a permanent part of not just our system, it is a permanent part of human history in genera!. A secular state recognizes this, while at the same time avoiding the creation of spheres that could lead to conflict and tension, and proposing co-existence on the basis of principles that are recognized by the world. On the other hand, the secular state expects socialism to be recognized as a real formation in which the church is seeking its place. I am sure that is the process that is occurring in the Catholic Church in Poland. Today the situation is completely different to what it was immediately after the war, when both sides were very much at odds with each other. Therefore, I believe that cooperation between the church and the state will be advantageous to the whole country. I do not think a situation could arise in Poland where one side "swallows" the other or a state-church alliance arises. In any case, it all depends on the matters concerning which such an alliance should arise. Such an alliance would be very desirable concerning the interests of the people, the functioning of the state, the attitudes of citizens, and the attainment of objectives that are the same for believers and nonbelievers.

Adam Bronikowski, Polish Television: What do you intend to do at the outset to win social approval, the assent that you are seeking?

[Rakowski] We are preparing certain moves that are intended to produce certain benefits at the beginning. However, it is still too early to reveal them.

Krzysztof Bien, RZECZPOSPOLITA: Do you intend to use the extraordinary powers granted the Council of Ministers or to apply for their extension?

[Rakowski] I definitely will not ask for them to be extended. I also do not think that I will have to use them. They came into existence in a different sociopolitical situation. I think that the government that I formed must act without using extraordinary powers, but with the knowledge that it bears an enormous responsibility for every move that it makes. I tried to form a government that would be a government of convinced reformers.

PANORAMA: Could you give some details about your plans concerning unprofitable enterprises and whole branches of industry against the background of the need to implement restructuring?

[Rakowski] It would be rather immodest of me to put forward concrete plans or projects concerning this area today. This is a kind of economic process that has political and social aspects. It also has to be remembered that the government is just starting work now. It is obvious that restructuring has to take place. I will remind you about what I said yesterday, the consistent implementation of the economic reform will be a painful process for some people and some work forces.

FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG: Last week Wladyslaw Baka announced that the government is going to spend $250 million for immediate, consumption purposes. Is this binding on the government?

[Rakowski] The resources that have been allocated for supporting the market are not just for interventionist imports of foodstuffs. Some of them are being allocated

for purchases of machinery, equipment, and other supplies needed for industry, including the farming and food processing industry, so that it can increase output.

Palestinian Press Agency: For 8 years now we have been hearing about what society expects of the government, but what does the government expect of society?

[Rakowski] All the talks and consultations that I have held and the letters that I have received indicate that society expects the government to act effectively and resolutely. Society wants the government to be strong and to have authority. The talks and letters that I have received show that the situation in Poland is being assessed very realistically. People do not expect a sudden miracle or rapid change in the situation just because the government has changed.

Karol Niedzwiecki, GAZETA MLODYCH: We are beginning to bring together people around the editorial board who do not want to go abroad to work in the West as a matter of principle. What would you say about this?

[Rakowski] I welcome this kind of initiative. I am deeply convinced that Poland does not have to be a country with poor prospects. I believe in our young people, and I would like them to support me on all decisions that they consider to be sound and necessary for society and for them. I am resolutely opposed to the view that nothing better can be achieved in Poland and the best attitude to adopt is that of someone who is doomed to suffer, who has lost. Quite a few of my countrymen frequently adopt this kind of attitude without even trying to do anything better. I want young people to able to believe in success. I will help them.

[Text] Renate Marsch, DPA: Did you have something concrete in mind when you when you suggested to the FRG Government that it should not put off what it can do today until tomorrow?

[Rakowski] Yes, I did have something concrete in mind. I think that people in Bonn know what I am referring to. Following Minister Genscher's last visit to Poland, special working parties were set up to prepare suggestions concerning many issues connected with our relations with the FRG. I think that our relations can be stepped up significantly as well as our activities aimed at finding a common position. In speaking about this yesterday, I was stressing the importance of relations between Poland and the FRG. There was a certain idea behind this: opposition to the attitude of some Western politicians who say: Let us wait and see what is going to happen in Poland. I have also heard it said that we will wait and see what the Rakowski government proposes in terms of a sociopolitical and economic program. I would not like to hear people now say that we will wait and see what this produces. This way, we can find ourselves waiting a very long time. I am convinced that in the light of the changes that are taking place in international policy, there is a possibility that, regardless of the differences separating them, states and peoples will draw closer together more rapidly. I think that there are prospects for overcoming divisions that date back to the cold war. We are now entering a period of change in Europe and the world during which all these divisions that have been in operation or are still partially in operation can be overcome.

PA INTERPRESS: How do you view the position and the new role of the Planning Commission attached to the Council of Ministers?

[Rakowski] I announced yesterday that we would submit a proposal to the Sejm on amending the law on planning. We will probably do this over the course of a month. I simply see a need to introduce changes in the current model that consist in replacing the Planning Commission with a Central Office of Planning that would occupy a different place in the entire structure of managing and running the national economy. This is not an idea that has just occurred to me out of the blue. Many economists and experts have been suggesting this kind of change for a long time.

Stanislaw Stefanski, PRZYJAZN: Mr Minister, you have said that Poland does not have to be a country with poor prospects. How do you view the role of cooperation with the Soviet Union and the CEMA countries as a whole in creating good prospects?

[Rakowski] In my opinion cooperation with the Soviet Union is a key issue, and I do not think that there is a need to provide lengthy justifications for this. I think that the relations that have linked Poland with the Soviet Union since 1944 are the greatest achievement of the Polish radical left to which I belong and to which I belonged. At the present time, thanks to the changes that are taking place in the Soviet Union, thanks to restructuring [Russian word used] and Gorbachev, opportunities have arisen for significantly enriching these relations. As premier, I will do all that I can to exploit these opportunities to the full. As far as cooperation with the CEMA countries is concerned, I can say that Poland is interested in speeding up integration processes, although I know that these processes cannot be accelerated in an artificial way. The current state of cooperation with CEMA satisfies no one, but—practice shows this—qualitative changes are taking place in this kind of cooperation, not just because this is what people want, but also as a result of the real objective situation, which has its laws.

Jerzy Nowakowski, TYGODNIK POLSKI: Mr Minister, we are all talking about prospects, about a program for the future. In the light of what you have said about the role of enterprise, I would like to ask what prospects the intellectual community has, as it cannot always display the enterprise that you mentioned?

[Rakowski] They can. I did not write my speech according to the traditional pattern, where I have to say something about the intelligentsia, the miners, the doctors. Besides, while I was preparing the speech, I received requests from various offices asking me to speak about this or that subject. I wanted to depart from this approach. In view of this, there was practically no mention of scholars and people working in the cultural field in what I said and how much I am counting on them. It is obvious that it is difficult to imagine an appropriate and advantageous policy for the state that would not take account of the intellectual and artistic communities. All possible resources that the government will have at its disposal will be used to improve the material position of the Polish intelligentsia, especially in occupations such as teaching, health care, and others. In general, these are people who create and shape opinion and who influence the attitude of the average citizen toward authority. Moreover, because obtaining the maximum amount of public confidence is the most important issue for every government, I am very much counting on the Polish intelligentsia. I am counting on it to help overcome pessimism, a lack of confidence, and attitudes of retreating from public life. In my opinion, it really is time to galvanize certain communities. I am not opposed to criticism, and I will always listen to it very carefully. Life has taught me to value other opinions and critical observations. However, I would like this to be followed by active support that would express itself in creating a definite opinion for a given community with respect to this or that issue which is being dealt with by the government. I will not do anything by myself.

JOURNAL EXPRESS: Premiers Lubomir Strougal of Czechoslovakia and Karoly Grosz of Hungary have spoken in the same vein as you. As we know, the former recently stepped down from his post and the latter is the first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee. How do you see your future in Poland?

[Rakowski] The Czechoslovak party decided on Premier Strougal's departure. That is their internal affair. However, I did not study Premier Strougal's speeches in detail, so it is difficult to express an opinion on what the former premier said. I am following what Premier Grosz is doing carefully. I like his way of thinking and his view of Hungary's problems. Moreover, I have very good friends among our Hungarian comrades. I always found support for my views and opinions there. It is time to reciprocate.

As for my future, that depends on what I manage to achieve as premier. One thing is certain, if I do not—to be down-to-earth about it—get a stroke, then I will have to retire one day.

Marek Kassa, Polish Radio: I would like to ask whether you were pleased to accept the proposal making you premier, and whether you did so without second thoughts?

[Rakowski] No. I thought about it carefully, and it was not an easy decision to make. It is not the kind of decision that one can make without deep thought. I realize that this is a decision which will affect the rest of my life.

LE MONDE: You mentioned union pluralism in your speech. Do you think that trade union pluralism is acceptable in Poland at the present time?

[Rakowski] It depends on what one means by pluralism.

NBC: Could you give a precise date for the roundtable?

[Rakowski] No, I cannot.

NBC: In your Sejm speech you mentioned that all the people coming to the roundtable should fully understand the real situation. However, the opposition believes that part of the real situation is the great longing for the greater democratization of life, which they understand as the recognition of Solidarity. What is your position on this question?

[Rakowski] I would not reduce democratization to recognition of Solidarity. I do not think that the mere existence or restoration of Solidarity would be proof of democratization in our country. In my opinion, the democratization processes that have been implemented in Poland for a number of years now are gaining momentum. All this took place without the existence of Solidarity. Besides, I would like to add that if we were list to everything that we have done in the field of democratization over the last few years and were to compare it with what was once imagined in 1981, then I think that we have moved much further forward. I might add that I often did not imagine this myself.

At the end of the news conference, Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Jerzy Urban, government press spokesman, said that the doors of the government building are open to all journalists and, the premier added, they will remain open.

Gdansk Disturbances To Be Investigated

LD1810203688 Warsaw PAP in English 1907 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] Gdansk, Oct. 18—In connection with the street incidents in Gdansk on October 16, 1988, which disturbed the public order and resulted, among other things, in collective demolishing of property, the Provincial Public Prosecutor's Office in Gdansk has launched an investigation aimed at revealing all the circumstances connected with the situation that took place, a spokesman of the Prosecutor's Office has announced.

Fiber Optics for Use in Polish Telephone Network

AU0610121788 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3 Oct 88 p 3

[Report signed 'C.R.': "Fiber Optics in Telecommunications"]

[Text] Fiber optics instead of traditional copper cables is the latest technology in world telecommunications. It presents enormous possibilities, and signifies higher quality connections and reduced costs. We have already made a start in this field. What is more important, experiments have been concluded and the regular production of cables and essential equipment has begun.

So far, experimental fiber optic cables with a total length of 20 km have been installed in Lublin, Lodz, and Poznan, among other places. Another 90 km of fiber optic cable are due to be installed this year, and 240 km next year, whereas in the final year of the present 5-year plan, the total length of fiber optic cable will increase threefold. During the next 5-year plan, 1,000 km of fiber optic cable are going to be installed each year.

The Center of Fiber Optic Telecommunications Technology in Lublin is already supplying mass-produced fiber optic cable. At the same time, the "Teletra" Electronics Plant in Poznan has produced the first equipment of the PCM TCC 120-S type, which permits the laying of fiber optic cable in the inter-exchange telephone network. It is this network that will dominate in future. But the so-called subscriber telephone network, whereby telephones are connected to the local exchange, will continue to use copper cables for many more years because of the cost.

Next year, the production of TCC-480 S fiber optic cables and associated equipment is due to start. This type of cable will have a capacity four times as great as the present type. It will be manufactured by "Teletra" in Poznan and the Warsaw State Telecommunications Plant. Also envisaged is the production of the PCM-1920 S system, with an even greater capacity, intended for the intercity and international network.

A general application of fiber optics in telecommunications calls for suitable specialists, installation equipment, and control and measuring apparatus, all of which the technical services of the Polish Administration of Posts, Telegraphs, and Telephones will receive. But apart from increasing efficiency and reducing costs, fiber optics will permit the telecommunications network to go digital. And this means a wide range of services of a world standard.

From 1991-5, Poland is due to receive 1.5 million new telephone subscribers, twice the amount foreseen during the present 5-year plan. Achievement of this objective will narrow the telecommunications gap between us and most other European countries.

Ceausescu Begins Official Visit to DPRK

Greeted by Leaders

AU1810181188 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1620 GMT 18 Oct 88

["The Distinguished Messengers of the Romanian People Arrive in Pyongyang"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Pyongyang AGERPRES 18/10/1988—Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, together with Mrs Elena Ceausescu started on October 18 the official visit of friendship to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, at the invitation of Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, president of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

A moment of importance in the rich history of the Romanian-Korean relations, the new visit—the fifth—paid by President Nicolae Ceausescu to the DPR Korea highlights the upward course of the traditional links of friendship, militant solidarity and collaboration established between the two parties and countries, as well as the mutual wish to expand and strengthen further those relations, to the benefit of both peoples, of the cause of peace and understanding among nations.

Welcoming with great joy the messengers of the Romanian people, with feelings of esteem and consideration, the Pyongyang residents extended a festive, enthusiastic and warm reception to President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu. They voiced full satisfaction at the new meeting between Nicolae Ceausescu and Kim Il-song that tellingly illustrate the decisive importance of the summit dialogue for the development of the Romanian-Korean relations on multiple planes. The presidential aircraft landed at 12:00 hrs local time.

By the plane ramp President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu were met by President Kim Il-song and Mrs Kim Song-ae, who warmly welcomed them to the DPR Korea. The two party and state leaders shook hands at length, friendly embraced each other. In turn, Mrs Elena Ceausescu and Mrs Kim Song-ae most cordially greeted each other.

The officials who accompany the RCP and Romanian state leader were present: Ion Dinca, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first deputy prime minister, Ioan Totu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, minister of foreign affairs, the other Romanian officials.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu were greeted by the Korean officials present at the ceremony: Yi Kun-mo, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Workers' Party of Korea, premier of the Administration Council, Pak Song-ch'ol, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Workers' Party of Korea, vice-president of the DPR Korea, Kim Yong-nam, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Workers' Party of Korea, vice-premier of the Administration Council, minister of foreign affairs, Hong Song-nam, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Workers' Party of Korea, vice-premier of the Administration Council, chairman of the State Planning Committee, other officials.

To the applause and cheers of the attendance, Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Kim Il-song, Mrs Elena Ceausescu and Mrs Kim Song-ae drove to Pyongyang.

At the residence assigned to the distinguished guests, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu conversed in a cordial atmosphere with President Kim Il-song and Mrs Kim Song-ae.

The two party and state leaders expressed their satisfaction at the new meeting, at the opportunity to continue the Romanian-Korean summit dialogue and expressed the confidence that it would account for yet another important contribution to the development of the collaboration between Romania and the DPR Korea, to the strengthening of their collaboration in the world arena, to mutual benefit, in the interests of the general cause of socialism and peace in the world.

Raises Toasts With Kim Il-song

AU1810180488 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1630 GMT 18 Oct 88

["Reception for President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Pyongyang AGERPRES 18/10/1988—A reception was offered at the Kumsusan Palace on October 18 by Kim Il-song, general secretary of the CC of the Workers' Party of Korea [WPK], president of the DPR Korea, and Mrs Kim Song-ae, for Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Mrs Elena Ceausescu.

The guests included Ion Dinca, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first deputy prime minister, Ioan Totu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, minister of foreign affairs, the other officials accompanying the leader of the RCP and Romanian state on his visit to the DPR Korea.

Attending were Yi Kun-mo, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the WPK, premier of the Administration Council, Pak Song-ch'ol, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the WPK, vice-president of the DPR Korea, Kim Yong-nam, member of the Political Bureau

of the CC of the WPK, vice-premier of the Administration Council, minister of foreign affairs, Hong Song-nam, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the WPK, vice-premier of the Administration Council, other officials.

During the reception, Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Kim Il-song made speeches that were followed with great interest and repeatedly punctuated with loud applause by the attendance.

During the reception, that proceeded in an atmosphere of warm friendship, Nicolae Ceausescu and Kim Il-song, Elena Ceausescu and Kim Song-ae most cordially conversed.

Lays Wreath at Monument

AU1810180988 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1635 GMT 18 Oct 88

["Floral Wreath"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 18/10/1988—Tuesday, 18 October, RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, president of Romania, and Mme Elena Ceausescu laid a floral wreath at the Memorial to the Martyrs of the Revolution, on Taesong Hill, near Pyongyang.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mme Elena Ceausescu were accompanied from residence to the memorial by Hong Song-nam, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Korean Workers' Party [WPK], vice premier of the Administrative Council, Kim Pok-sin, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the WPK, vice-premier of the Administrative Council, and other Korean officials.

On arrival, the distinguished Romanian guests were welcomed by Pak Song-ch'ol, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the KWP, vice-president of the DPR of Korea.

Military guards filing up on the plateau in front of the mausoleum presented arms.

After the floral wreaths were laid a moment's silence was kept to the memory of the heroes who sacrificed themselves to safeguard the homeland and for the victory of the Korean revolution.

DPRK Media on Ceausescu Visit

For KCNA coverage of the visit to North Korea by Secretary General Ceausescu, see the North Korea section of the 18 October East Asia DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

PRC Military Visits, Meet Milea, Others

AU1510172188 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1641 GMT 15 Oct 88

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 15/10/1988—Over 10-15 October, Col.-Gen. Yang Baibing, member of the CC of the Chinese Communist Party, member of the Central Military Commission of the party, chief of the General Political Department of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, headed a delegation of party activists of the Chinese People's Liberation Army in an official visit to Romania at the invitation of the Higher Political Council of the Armed Forces.

During the visit, the guests were received by Ion Coman, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP. The delegation was also received by Col-Gen Vasile Milea, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, minister of national defence.

During those interviews, reference was made to the traditional ties of friendship between the RCP and the Chinese Communist Party, between the Romanian and Chinese peoples and the two countries' Armed Forces which, in keeping with the summit understandings, are continuously developing.

The Chinese delegation had exchanges of experience on issues of the party, organizational and political-educational work at the Higher Political Council of the Armed Forces, with a delegation headed by Lt-Gen Ilie Ceausescu, deputy minister of national defence and secretary of the Higher Political Council of the Armed Forces, as well as at some party bodies in army commands, military units and learning institutes. The Chinese guests also held talks at the Arges County RCP Committee and visited socioeconomic units and places of tourist interest.

Session With Turkey Ends, Protocol Signed

AU1410185488 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1825 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 14/10/1988—The 14th session of the Joint Government Commission on Economic Cooperation Between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Republic of Turkey came to an end in Bucharest, on October 14.

Expressing satisfaction at the positive evolution of the economic relations between the two countries according to the understandings and decisions covenanted during the summit meetings and talks, the two parties analyzed the possibilities and ways to develop further the economic, industrial and technological Romanian-Turkish collaboration and cooperation in sectors of mutual interest, especially in power engineering, mining and geology, transport and agriculture. Analyzed were also new measures and actions to ensure a steadily upward course of the bilateral goods exchanges.

At the close of the proceedings, the chairmen for the two countrie of the commission, Gheorghe Oprea, first deputy prime minister of Romania, and Abdullah Tenekeci, minister of state of the Republic of Turkey, signed the session's protocol.

During their stay in Romania the head of the Turkish delegation had interviews with Stefan Andrei, deputy prime minister, and with executives of economic ministries, and toured industrial and sociocultural units in Bucharest and in Brasov County.

More Letters Condemn Hungarian Attitude

AU1810184888 [Editorial Report] Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian on 6 October on page 5, under the headline "Firm Condemnation of Certain Attitudes Which Are Incompatible With Positive Relations Between States and Between Neighboring Countries," carries four letters between 500-700 words long, by Romanian citizens of Hungarian nationality who condemn "any interference in our domestic affairs" and the "slanders" spread by the "Hungarian mass media" against Romania.

The introductory passage to the three letters reads as follows:

"In connection with certain denigratory, hostile, anti-Romanian, and anti-socialist attitudes that have emerged of late in Hungary, the ROMANIA LIBERA editorial office has received numerous letters from working people in which they express feelings of profound indignation and condemn these tendentious attitudes.

In response to their justified request to publicize their letters and to make their profound adherence to our party's and state's domestic and foreign policy widely known, this edition of our newspaper is carrying some of the letters that our office received."

In his 700-word letter entitled "In the Name of Truth, Honor, and Good Faith!" University Professor Dr Pal Arpad, prorector of Cluj-Napoca University, points out that "for any upright and honest man it is clear that the denigratory actions against our homeland to which the Hungarian press resorts will, by no means, facilitate cooperation and friendship between the two peoples. I rather believe that such actions will cause great harm and serve, in fact, those foreign circles who do not view our great achievements benevolently." He emphasizes that "in fact there are no problems to solve between us. We have the same ideals of work and we struggle to build the most equitable human society, socialism and communism. The agreements concluded in Arad justifiably stressed that the constantly increasing economic and scientific-technical potential of the two countries ensures favorable preconditions for expanding our exchanges in all areas more vigorously."

In his 700-word letter entitled "Attempts Doomed to Failure," Dumitru Domos, worker at the Miercurea Ciuc tractor enterprise, mainly reviews agricultural, industrial, and sociocultural achievements in Miercurea Ciuc and Harghita County after which he writes: "I have described all this to show the Hungarian mass media representatives that, by making use of lies, they are slandering our life and our dignified and free work, and that their attempts are doomed to failure. The best thing for them would be to mind their own business, to drop their hatred, chauvinism, and nationalism."

In his 600-word letter entitled "Feelings of Legitimate Indignation," Mihai Csete, secretary of the party committee and chairman of the working people's council at the mechanical enterprise in Oradea, writes that "it came as a surprise to me to hear that the Hungarian press has launched a campaign slandering Romanian achievements and the policy promoted by the party and Romanian State." He emphasizes that such a campaign may give the impression that "the Romanian citizens of a different nationality would be deprived of their constitutional rights in our country." "Such initiatives," the author stresses "stir feelings of legitimate indignation" because what they "essentially" are is "direct and blatant interference in the domestic affairs of another country." He concludes by saying "therefore we firmly condemn any tendency and sign of interference in our domestic affairs. We, the Romanian citizens of Hungarian and German nationality, or of any other nationality, are the only ones called upon to decide our own destiny."

In his 500-word letter entitled "Once Again in Our Home" Andrei Mike, foreman at the Satu Mare vegetable and fruit enterprise, describes a 64-day stay in Hungary, together with his family, and their hard work to "barely make ends meet." He states that "after a long soul-searching period, after serious pangs of conscience, and after shattered hopes" and also "pushed by daily hardships we decided to return home. Here we were welcomed with great understanding. We have resumed exactly the same work we were doing before we left." His advice to all those who have left Romania, are still in Hungary, and "for one or another reason have not yet decided to return" is: "return as soon as possible and resume your activity. Here and only here in Romania is the place for all our homeland's sons; only here can we live a humane life among our own kind where we are treated with esteem and appreciation, which means more than anything in the world."

LCY CC Plenum Meets for 17 Oct Session

More on Suvar 17 Oct Speech

LD1710133288 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1202 GMT 17 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, Oct. 17 (TANJUG)—Suvar confirmed that the constitutional amendments will be adopted by the Yugoslav parliament on November 29, as scheduled, and said this was very important as it would subsequently make it possible to work in peace and without hurry. He noted, however, that all solutions in the political system must be geared to the integration of Yugoslavia and that nothing in the system is sacred or unchangeable, except the foundations of socialist Yugoslavia.

The reform of the League of Communists is needed not to preserve but to abolish political monopoly said Suvar. Recalling that in recent months the criticism of the working class was the most severe since the victory of the socialist revolution in Yugoslavia, Suvar said that this confirmed the correctness of Tito's statement made in 1950s that the party must be separated from the state in order not to become separated from the working class, and that this was more than obvious today.

Suvar also urged the abolition of what he said was the notorious principle of "political fitness" and added that people should be appraised through free and direct elections, competition and labour legislature [phrase as received].

There can be no successful transformation of the League of Communists without full affirmation of democratic centralism, said the leader of Yugoslav communists. He also pointed out that the practice of making accusations against party and all other leaderships was extremely harmful to inter-party democracy. Furthermore, not only is criticism of "one's own" leadership and individual leaders almost non-existent, but they are often uncritically praised and glorified.

The League of Communists must resist such destructive tendencies, Suvar added.

Democratic relations, said Suvar are being specially endangered by the instances of naming, disqualifications, repression and militant hunts and campaigns against those who have expressed their critical opinion. We have reacted to this on several occasions, but the practice continues.

Such intimidation campaigns, calls and demands for political responsibility are directly aimed at stifling inter-party democracy and the violation of the principle of democratic centralism.

The chief prerequisite for calming political passions in the country is to resolve the Kosovo trauma, said Suvar, adding that there was anxiety in entire Yugoslavia about the activity of Albanian nationalism and separatism and instances of revanchist nationalism among the members of other nations and nationalities.

He recalled that the ultimate goal of ethnic Albanian Nationalists and separatists was to join Kosovo to the state of Albania.

Suvar resolutely rejected all theses of the alleged unequality of ethnic Albanians in Yugoslavia, and said they were the only national minority in the world which had their own university, academy of sciences and all other cultural and media institutions.

It was on the basis of statist-provincial enclosure that Kosovo has turned into an Albanian province instead of being a province of all those living there, a constituent part of Serbia, totally open to Yugoslavia, said Suvar.

An aspiration also emerged to win formal recognition for Kosovo as a state, equal to Serbia, Croatia and other republics, which should no longer be part of Serbia, but become an Albanian republic in Yugoslavia, he underlined.

All this has been and still is ground for the brutal activity of organized forces of Albanian nationalism, which receive support and encouragement from abroad, he said.

Such developments were used by Serbian nationalism to revive national myths and cite war as a possible solution, Suvar said.

The most important question now is to stop the processes leading to an ethnically pure Kosovo, to create conditions for the return of Serb and Montenegrins who migrated from the province and to prevent further national divisions there, said Suvar.

At the very core of the crisis of political relations in the country is, in fact, the battle for whether Yugoslavia will continue on the course symbolized by Tito, noted Suvar. The abandonment of that course and introduction of another one may lead to neo-Stalinism, national-state socialism and totalitarian populism, he warned.

Suvar also compared Stalin's claim that "cadres settle everything" cited during the rigged trials in the Soviet Union with some current tendencies to make leaders appear responsible for everything. In a situation when nearly all politicians—except those who would want to see others hang—are being branded as corrupt, thieves and even traitors, even honest and moral people resign, hurt and offended, in order to halt this destructive process.

Suvar was categorical that this road did not lead to a responsible society and said "we have not accepted and we shall not accept differentiation on the basis of bureaucratic games, but on the strategy and programme of hope for this country."

Mikulic Speech

AU1810121688 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1519 GMT 17 Oct 88

[Speech by Branko Mikulic, FEC president, at the 17th LCY Central Committee session in Belgrade on 17 October—recorded]

[Text] Comrades. The economic, social, and political situation in the country is continuously becoming more and more complicated. Various retrogressive quasi-democratic processes as well as ideologies are manifesting themselves on the social scene and they essentially represent a negation of the social being and entire democratic development of Yugoslavia up to now. Certain options are being offered which it was believed had already been expelled from this area. The people's discontent caused by the general situation in society is manifesting itself in an increasingly acute form. Unrest and concern are growing and this fact creates scope for various radical political demands. The violence of the Albanian nationalists and separatists has continued for nearly 8 years now. For more than 25 years we have failed to overcome the economic crisis. Social tensions in society continue to grow more and more.

As early as 11 years ago, the 11th LCY Congress pointed out the need for an analysis of the political system and we still have not decided on the necessary changes in the SFRY Constitution and the Constitution of the SR of Serbia in accordance with the conclusions adopted by the LCY. We are confronted by a tendency to redefine the national question. The primacy of national elements over class elements is becoming increasingly evident. It seems that national states are beginning to be considered by some people as the supreme ideal. These people are beginning to see Yugoslavia merely as a geographical area and not as a realistic federal state community of all SFRY peoples and nationalities. Nationalism is penetrating more and more deeply into all the pores of society. LCY unity, it is claimed, has become an epithet for an idea and the federalization of the LCY, and, as it is said, national communism seems to be our reality. Many people say they favor the three reforms but in everyday life there is very little evidence of involvement along this line although it is known that these reforms cannot be carried out without the broadest involvement of all communists and all working people and citizens.

Today Yugoslavia and Yugoslavism—naturally in their positive sense—are threatened and attacked from many sides. It is no longer simply a question of the obvious attacks of nationalists against the existence of Yugoslavia but also a question of other unfavorable processes in the economy, in the economic, social, and political spheres. A retrogressive bourgeois-tainted awareness of citizenship and (?quasi)-socialist orientation are increasingly undermining the foundations of new Yugoslavia. The concept of the so-called national economies and the accompanying isolation in politics, ideology, culture, and literature have brought us to a state of divisions, uneconomical development, failures in development, and poverty and not to a situation where the workers class and all working people decide on their own and the total national incomes. Instead it is the centers of statist and political power that make decisions on the national income and the workers class and the people pay the penalty for failures. Thus losses have been incurred and the losses thus incurred are often socialized even at the level of the Federation. The sins of others are thereby transferred to the Federation and the organs of the Federation are even criticized for the sins that have been committed. On the other hand the impression is being created that everything that the organs of the Federation adopt as their policy, conclusions, and measures is not good, only goes half way, and even that it is more or less imposed.

For years we have held discussions about the counterrevolution in Kosovo but we have not defeated it. Violence against people and their property, especially against the Serbian and Montenegrin peoples, still continues. Emigration continues and intranational relations in Kosovo, and not only in Kosovo, are deteriorating. It is obvious that the Albanian national chauvinists and separatists count on a longer period to achieve their goals. If we have learned anything in the past nearly 8 years, then it is that we must resist this evil with much more united and effective political action by all Yugoslav communists as well as with the measures of the state organs. I believe that no one will even think that I am making any kind of comparisons of the degrees of [word indistinct] and therefore I say that we also must not underestimate the Serbian, Croatian, Slovene, Moslem, Montenegrin, Macedonian, and other nationalisms that have also appeared on the scene and are manifesting themselves more and more aggressively.

We have had opportunities to read articles in which individual nationalists advance their dark ideas about changing Yugoslavia. Recently someone put it well saying that our relatively small country is too narrow and insufficient an area for such great states as a great Albania, a great Serbia, a great Croatia, or other great states where nationalists are rising. Never in the past 43 years has there been such a flood as the present one of rightwing bourgeois thinking and even the formation of the concepts that try to deny Tito and his work, our entire past development and achievements, the brotherhood and unity, the country's freedom and independence, Yugoslavia's nonaligned foreign policy, and the role of the Yugoslav People's Army in defending the SFRY's independence and territorial integrity.

What is even stranger is the fact that so many bourgeois, anticommunist, and anti-Yugoslav elements have firmly established themselves in the legal institutions of our system, in some journals and part of the press, cultural institutions, some associations, and so forth. It is our duty to ask ourselves whether it is enough what everyone of us and all of us together are doing in the struggle against these sediments, this stench that leads to hatred,

quarrels, and primitivism. If we add to this the several years of economic crisis, a very high inflation rate, the decline in the real standard of living, unjustified shortages of some food supplies, large takings from the economy's income, and unjustly distributed burdens of stabilization, we obtain a sufficiently true picture of the situation in which we now find ourselves.

Although all this has been more or less said on several past occasions and Comrade Suvar also spoke about this in his introductory speech, I have called attention to some facts in our present situation with the intention to put the question: Where is the way out of this situation? Or, how the economic, social, and political crisis can be overcome? We will agree that this question can only be answered by the collective expert and political mind. Therefore, what I will say must be understood as a small personal contribution to seeking an answer to the question of how to overcome the crisis. I am convinced that, just as many times in the past, the basic starting point in seeking a solution to overcome the present difficult Yugoslav situation must be a joint Yugoslav view on solving the problems which we face. It is certainly understood that this view, this Yugoslav measure of things includes the basic principles of our revolution and self-managing development, Yugoslavia's essence in the spirit of decisions of the Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia, its socialist self-managing and federal character, the power of the workers class, national equality, brotherhood and unity, the country's territorial integrity, and its freedom and nonaligned policy. We have no chance of finding a way out of the crisis without this measure of things.

If we agree on this, then we must all become engaged in strengthening the SFRY as our common homeland, as the only realistic framework within which the working people and citizens and peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia are guaranteed the possibility for fulfilling their social, national, and other freedoms and interests, for their peaceful life in a free country. This presupposes among other things that the functions of the Federation must be defined in a way that enables it to function as a real state in the spheres of national defense, foreign policy, and protection of the constitutional order, and in securing the unity of those functions of the economic system and economic policy which represent a condition for an unhindered functioning of the integral Yugoslav market without any administrative interventions.

Furthermore we must free ourselves more resolutely and quickly from our dogmas and solutions that were more or less appropriate at a given stage of development but which today represent an obstacle to keeping pace with the world. It is our advantage that, in relation to many other socialist countries and movements, we have already accomplished a very great amount of restructuring. In this connection I have in mind everything that represented an (elimination of dogmas) that was carried out by the adoption of the LCY Program and the introduction of socialist self-management. However, we now find ourselves in a situation that threatens to jeopardize the course that has been already started, that is, what we have achieved programatically and practically. We face the danger that, by any possible delay in the reform, we practically lock in the existing state of affairs and provincialize ourselves in civilization.

The Yugoslav communists and all progressive thought face the challenge of making a new and (useful) step forward and of moving from the so-called early socialist stage of development to a higher stage of development of production forces and self-managing production relations. We are at a turning point where a stronger impulse must be given to knowledge, science, professionalism, competition in ability, and more efficacious discovery of new technologies and computer data processing. We are at a stage where in the society as a whole and especially in the development of production relations a greater impulse must be provided for the development of the socialist self-managing democracy, including primarily the democracy of direct producers of material and spiritual values.

We have not simply invented the reforms. It is our reality that oriented us to them. Our fate and future depend on whether we will carry them out resolutely and consistently. Any possible delay of reforms would result in our long-term lagging and sinking into an ever deeper social and economic crisis. The development of the past 23 years confirms this—that is, the development since 1965 when we adopted the social and economic reform and then quickly abandoned its implementation. At that time we entered a long period of declining effectiveness of investments and basic assets, of a deterioration of the structure of the Yugoslav economy and its encapsulation in relation to the outside world and within the country, and of increasing foreign and dubious internal debts. And the 25 years of high inflation represent a synthetic index of all this.

The increased shortcomings in the functioning of the Yugoslav economy have a long genesis. They have been fundamentally caused by a nonmarket economic system that resulted in an inappropriate structure of the Yugoslav economy. Therefore our crisis knot can only be untied by a fundamental reform of the economic system and a corresponding new development policy. A part of the cause seems to concern the theoretical and ideological heritage of the period of classical industrialization at the initial stage of development of socialism, the heritage that found its [word indistinct] in the nonmarket situation, encapsulation in relation to international [word indistinct], and encapsulation of the republics and provinces in their national economies. [words indistinct] and inappropriate answer to our entire development and the energy crisis of the seventies.

The answer unfortunately was that we would ourselves meet all our energy and raw materials needs, an answer involving all repercussions in the development orientation. It turned out that a much better answer would have

been the answer that was predominant in the developed world, that is, an answer of accelerated technological development aimed primarily at saving energy and raw materials, and of a fundamental change in the structure of the economy.

Thus we come to the heart of the matter. It is a question of the three reforms of the political system, of the economic system and development orientation, and of the LC and other organized social forces. It is not enough to verbally be in favor of the reform, although even this verbal support is not equally provided by all, and at the same time to blame the economic policy program and its market orientation, and putting it openly, thereby to cover up one's own responsibility for past failures whenever the market begins to show the true state of affairs and past failures. After many years of passiveness and resistance and failure to implement the long-term stabilization program, we are now in the midst of a process of preparation and implementation of the reform. Numerous proposed laws are now before the assembly. Other proposals will follow. We will also propose a change in planning documents. In this connection we have enjoyed and continue to enjoy a great support and assistance of scientific workers of the entire country. Realistically assessing that it is impossible to jump to an economic reform from the very difficult economic situation that existed prior to the program of 14 November of last year or 15 May of this year, we proposed and adopted the May program. The 15 May program and the concept of economic reform are mutually interconnected and conditioned. In a certain sense this period of economic policy is a preparatory period for the implementation of economic reform in the beginning of next year.

With the exception of a statement made by one university rector so far no one in the public has disputed the 15 May economic policy program. Nevertheless we must consider whether we really share the same opinion about the 15 May concept of economic policy measures and economic reform. The fact is that there are many who, despite their verbal support for the concept of economic policy, in fact dispute each of its parts. This is done in a way in which the significance of any results is minimized as much as possible wherever such obvious results cannot be denied, and then the measures of economic policy are taken separately one by one and are frequently disputed with wrong arguments and wrong information.

One must clearly perceive who makes a contribution to the increase of prices, and how he does it, and the responsibility and task of everyone to combat inflation. Those who set 63 percent of all the prices freely, and those who set their prices above all reasonable limits, under the so-called joint guidelines, should first clean up their own backyard. Their prices constitute the production costs of others, and let us not fool ourselves: There is no reduction of the tax burden on the economy that could neutralize the rise in the costs caused by such price decisions.

Of course, our 6,000 self-managing interest communities and our 540 communes must contribute to a reduction of the costs of the economy. Under the present conditions, it is irresponsible to create surplus income, not to reduce the rates of taxes and contributions, not to pay back the surpluses but pour them into a bottomless barrel such as the local, provincial, and republican white elephants, that have been loss makers over many years.

The commercial banks are a similar case. On orders from local authorities, they appeared as the self-appointed rescuers of the loss makers and of those who neither repay the principal nor pay the interest. For this generosity, the banks (?unscrupulously) charge others through unreasonably high interest rates.

Until recently, the republics and provinces have not reacted to the demands to ease the taxes and contributions based on gross personal incomes. By keeping silent on this they, objectively speaking, deluded the workers into thinking that this depends on the Federation, but it is known that not a single dinar of the workers' gross personal incomes flows directly into federal coffers.

The more the economy, the banks, and the sociopolitical communities shift the responsibility for inflation exclusively onto the Federation, the lower the chances of combating it. It is well known that the republics, the provinces, and the economy continually impose fresh material obligations on the Federation to cover the foreign exchange losses, compensations, bonuses, and subsidies, but nevertheless they expect the greatest reduction in taxes precisely from the Federation. The direct revenue of the Federation consists only of a part of the turnover tax and the import dues. The demand to reduce these taxes is justified, but the extent to which it may be met should be realistically perceived, for the Federation cannot make good this revenue through other revenue, considering that the system of taxes and contributions is fully in the power of the republics and provinces.

It is not good to force the Federation to economize even more in a field where this is most risky, the field of national defense.

Some other current problems have been mentioned in the discussion, including the problems of supply in the market. The so-called people's bread was also mentioned. In this connection, I wish to say the following:

We have proposed to the republics and provinces that all the powers in the sphere of supply of basic foods, including the conduct of the price policy, should be transferred from the Federation to the republics and provinces. However, this has not been accepted. We have also proposed that the flour, edible oil, and milk subsidies should be transferred from production to consumption, and that subsidies should be paid to those

whose standard of living really should be protected. Even this has not been accepted, although we have proposed to cede to them a portion of the turnover tax on tobacco products.

Thus, the situation remains whereby the Federation pays subsidies to the producers, even in the fourth quarter, but the republics and provinces have adopted decisions on partial subsidies in the sphere of consumption. This is to say that proposals to transfer all this to the republics and provinces are not accepted, but the responsibility for the shortage of people's bread is being blamed on the FEC, as if the FEC had any influence whatever on the baking industry and retailers located in 540 communes in Yugoslavia.

What are the 540 presidents of the communal assemblies, their executive organs, and others doing if they do not take care of these elementary needs of the people?

It is self-evident that every program of economic policy measures may be constructive if all the subjects in society each assume their share of the responsibility for its implementation.

In conclusion, the realization of the reform can certainly be slowed down by some factors. The first question is whether the constitutional amendments will be adopted on time, and the second question is whether the constitutional amendments provide enough scope for the development of the reform concept as we conceived it, and for its implementation.

Regarding the first question of whether the amendments will be adopted on time, I leave the assessment to all of you, but I wish to say now that in some fields the amendments do not provide enough scope for a full development of the reform concept. Here, as is known, I mean above all the field of the taxation system. There are other open questions, too. Of course, the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia write and adopt the Constitution for themselves. Nobody can impose on them what they do not want. The federal officers, however, will judge whether they can assume the responsibility for the consequences under conditions of, in their opinion, inappropriate constitutional and system provisions that would not enable them to work successfully.

As regards the proposals in the conclusions and in the discussion to the effect that a discussion on economic policy and its implementation should be initiated in the SFRY Assembly and in the assemblies of other sociopolitical communities, and that the responsibility of the executive organs should be examined, I would say the following:

If anybody in this country has been subjected to tests of confidence, then it is this FEC. On 14 May this year both chambers of the SFRY Assembly voted on a proposal to withdraw confidence in the FEC. The next day, on 15 May, the economic program was adopted by a majority in both chambers. During a discussion on the report on the economic trends over 9 months this year, both assembly chambers confirmed the program which the FEC has been implementing. This means that in less than 5 months, the FEC passed the tests of confidence on three occasions.

In the same way, the FEC is practically undergoing a test at almost every session of the assembly. It would be good for our society if such a democratic practice were adopted in all the organs and institutions of the system, including the executive organs of the LCY, and here I also have in mind the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

Kadijevic Speaks

AU1810181088 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1222 GMT 17 Oct 88

[Speech by Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense, at the 17th Central Committee session held in Belgrade on 17 October—recorded]

[Text] The concept of the all-people's defense was created, developed, and passed a practical test during the national liberation war. Tito was its creator. The more specific military aspects of this concept—the combined forms of armed struggle—were successfully applied after World War II by liberation movements in other parts of the world. This was Tito's contribution to the development of world military thought on liberation movements.

This historical genesis of this concept must never be forgotten. At this moment, there are at least two reasons for this. One is that it can be seen how deplorable Tito's slanderers of all stripes look in comparison with only this single segment of Tito's work. The second is that it should be known that foundations of such a concept of all-people's defense cannot be changed until the essential factors on which it is based are changed.

Respecting this orientation, we had no great vacillations or deviations in the postwar development, buildup, or modernization of the concept either. This too we owe primarily to Tito and his personal and direct commitment to defense questions. With such a commitment as his, no quasi-theories on defense could be accepted. There were some such attempts, just as there are some today. And they are certainly more numerous today.

Where the role of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] as an institution and the role of its cadres is concerned, there are two opposite theses today: One according to which the YPA should play a special role in resolving the Yugoslav crisis, including the assumption of power through a military putsch, and a second, according to which YPA officers should be excluded from the country's political life and shut up in barracks. Both theses are not only incorrect, but they are malicious. The SFRY Constitution precisely determines that the SFRY Presidency is the highest organ leading and commanding the SFRY Armed Forces in peace and in war. Only the

SFRY Presidency has the right to make a decision on the use of the Armed Forces or parts of it. Nobody else has such a right. Nothing else is possible now or in the future.

Therefore one must, among other things, clearly qualify and energetically reject all the recent attempts to introduce some other institutions of the system into the system of the commanding YPA, and thus to change its nature as determined by the Constitution.

Although this is not new, the thesis of shutting YPA officers up in the barracks is very aggressive in its forms. Although the ideological stronghold of this thesis is almost the opposite of the other thesis on the unconstitutional role of the army, they both advocate essentially the same thing: a change in the character, place, and role of the YPA and its cadres which has been established in our sociopolitical system by the SFRY Constitution.

According to its origin and the role it has played so far in war and in peace, the YPA has established three essential characteristics: a people's, revolutionary, and Yugoslav character. In order to be able to successfully perform the task established by the SFRY Constitution now and in future, it must maintain and further develop these characteristics.

Its cadres are trained and firmly oriented to remain on Tito's road. At the same time, this is the main criterion we use to discern the essence and aims of attacks against the YPA, whatever the forms these attacks may assume. This is also a certain criterion that helps us differentiate attacks with a destructive aim from constructive criticism and suggestions with the aim of improvement and progress.

Attacks against the YPA are the logical consequence of some already publicly expressed negative orientations and views on Yugoslavia as a federal community. They directly serve attempts to destroy the Yugoslav federal state. For this very reason, we have warned on many occasions that these attacks will continue, spread, and deepen as we approach the hour when we have to decide on constitutional changes in Yugoslavia.

Apart from this, there are more and more pronounced attempts to influence army cadres with a view to making them orient themselves according to narrower, that is, regional, provincial, or republican views or orientations so that these views are now not the same as Yugoslav views or views that have not been confirmed on the Yugoslav level.

Tica Speech

AU1810192388 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 17 Oct 88

[Report on the speech by Nebojsa Tica at the 17th LCY Central Committee session held in Belgrade on 17 October]

[Text] Nebojsa Tica said that the territorial pretensions of some forces from abroad are on the increase recently. The general crisis contributes to this, particularly the grave situation in Kosovo.

[Begin Tica recording] All this is happening before the very eyes of the LCY leadership and of 100,000 Kosovo Communists. Such a situation also has a negative impact on the defense preparations of the civilian sector, the situation in the territorial defense, and the reserve officers cadre in Kosovo.

According to the findings of the inspectorate for defense preparations of the civilian bodies of society that is under the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, the state of the defense preparations in Kosovo is burdened with many weaknesses and shortcomings, which reduce their ability to perform specific tasks.

In the units and staffs of the Kosovo Territorial Defense, because of indocrination, some officers and those men liable for military service have a negative influence on the situation in territorial defense. Through the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, a considerable number of reserve officers from the ranks of these nationalities have emigrated. A number of officers of Albanian nationality and other peoples and nationalities cannot be reserve officers, because of their hostile activities.

From among the personnel of the Yugoslav People's Army, the number of perpetrators of activities from positions of Albanian nationalism and separatism in the period between 1981 and 1988 increased about 22-fold in comparison with the preceding 8-year period, which indicates the aggressive and far-reaching nature of the counterrevolutionary goals of the Albanian nationalists and separatists in Kosovo.

The problem of detecting hostile activities in the Yugoslav People's Army has been rendered more difficult because the respective national defense organs in Kosovo did not respect the provisions of Article 73 of the Military Service Law, according to which they are obliged to pass on to Army units data of security interest about those men who are liable for military service that have a record or have been convicted. Only after the Paracin case has this obligation been fulfilled more regularly.

Organizers of hostile group activities have been most frequently subjected to criminal prosecution and to discipline measures, but few of the real culprits who reared them in a hostile spirit have been called to account. We consider this to be a key problem which the LC and other institutions in Kosovo must resolve. [end recording]

Confidence Votes Possible Tuesday

LD1710221488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2116 GMT 17 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Oct (TANJUG)—The LCY Central Committee will probably be in a position to hold a vote of confidence tomorrow on each individual member of the Presidium. This was announced by the presiding official of the 17th Central Committee session, Marko

Orlandic, in reaction to criticism directed at the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, Stipe Suvar, by Milovan Popovic.

According to Marko Orlandic, the LCY Central Committee will hold a secret vote of confidence on each member individually except on four members who have already offered their resignations. This concerns, of course, members of the LCY Central Committee Presidium on permanent work in this executive-political organ.

LCY CC Plenum Meets for 18 Oct Session

Work Resumes

LD1810225588 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2027 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 18 (TANJUG)—The 17th session of the Central Committee (CC) of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY), devoted to determining concrete tasks in dealing with the adverse economic and political situation in the country, resumed work here this morning.

At the beginning of today's session, LCY CC Presidency Secretary Stefan Korosec, criticized last night's address by Milovan Popovic, LCY CC member from the Republic of Serbia, in which he charged President of the LCY CC Presidency Stipe Suvar with an incomprehensible change in his assessment of the political situation in that republic.

Korosec said that Popovic resorted to "insinuations and false accusations" in an attempt to discredit the Yugoslav party leader, and that the LCY CC Presidency at its session held after the debate late last night fully supported Suvar and distanced itself from Popovic's speech.

Popovic accused Suvar of an incomprehensible and sudden change of attitude towards the Serbian leadership's policy. According to Popovic, Suvar initially supported Serbian party leader Slobodan Milosevic by saying that the League of communists of Serbia was not "a prisoner of Serbian nationalism" and that the autonomous provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo were wrong to close themselves against Serbia. At present, however, Suvar is one of the staunchest critics of the Serbian leadership's policies, he said. Replying to Korosec's criticism today, Popovic said that the substance of his address was not disputed and that he accepted criticism for the manner he delivered it, appealing to the Central committee members to take this into account.

Kosovo party leader Kacusas Jasari warned that internationality relations in the province were deteriorating, and that nationalisms had never had a more suitable ground for action. She underlined that the League of Communists of Kosovo was responsible for the struggle against Albanian nationalism and separatism, as well as for a peaceful and safe life of members of all nations and nationalities, primarily Serbs and Montenegrins.

Jasari also said that the struggle against Serbian nationalism was not energetic enough, which in turn has an adverse effect on the struggle against Albanian nationalism.

She described yesterday's address by Adem Krasnici as "improper." The entire LCY Central Committee today distanced itself from Krasnici's speech. He cited no evidence to corroborate his claim that the Kosovo Polje committee in charge of organizing rallies of solidarity with Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins was closely connected with the Serbian party leadership.

Milos Prosenc (Slovenia) said there was an atmosphere of an emergency state in the country which was hindering creativity, obstructing knowledge and development. He expressed support for the plenum's efforts to set up a democratic dialogue on controversial questions, but stressed that the Central Committee had to establish a regular practice of reaching unity on differences.

He said this could not be achieved by merely calling the incompetent and those who were obstructing changes to account. The path for unity to be [word indistinct] in the realization of an economic, political and party reform is for the LCY to take over the initiative on all essential, but still open, questions of the development of socialism. Before this, Prosenc holds, it remains to be established what the term Unity of Society and the LCY means.

Vukasin Micunovic (Montenegro) called for a party reform at its next congress. He said it was not important whether that congress would be extraordinary or regular, but what it would be like.

Micunovic said he was not worried by the existence of eight parties in Yugoslavia but by the fact that in the general atmosphere of dissatisfaction among communists as well as among the people there existed a tendency for the LCY to act as a party in power.

Milan Radovic, president of the LC of Montenegro, cautioned that "uncovered promises" could no longer be given to the workers and citizens in a situation when poverty was knocking at the door of many homes. The bad situation is a good soil of which the opponents of socialism are openly trying to take advantage. In assessing that the fanning up of passions and the confrontations of leaderships may lead the country into a disaster, Radovic sought that everybody should draw the moves in his own environment taking account of the country's political relations as a whole.

He appealed to the leaderships to iron out misunderstandings through direct cooperation, not by means of public confrontations.

Nikola Stojanovic (Bosnia-Hercegovina) maintains that the LCY must work out a platform to rely upon "Yugoslavia's synthesis." This synthesis, according to Stojanovic, is rendered impossible by the present method of acting from separate platforms in a federated party.

Said Stojanovic, it is no longer the matter of either the weakening of cohesion or the disintegrating of the country, but what is concerned is the dividing of the country into an eastern and a western part. He stressed that the situation in the country and especially the counter-revolution in Kosovo were proving that the bureaucratized leaderships were the cause of the non-unity within the party.

Josip Vrhovec said that a solution to the crisis in the country should be sought in the implementation of the three reforms (political, economic and party). Expressing the opinion that the core of the crisis was in the economic area, Vrhovec said tha the overall situation in the country could not be consolidated without the solution of the economic crisis. He, however, noted that the political crisis was no less serious.

In that context, Vrhovec raised the question of whether Yugoslavia would be able to organize the non-aligned summit next year and said that Yugoslavia could not allow itself to take the seat of the chairman-country of the movement of non-aligned as a country which was disintegrating, which had lost its international prestige and was not able to do anything about it.

Vrhovec, who has been a frequent target of criticism in the Serbian press because of some statements has made, said that "an insane campaign of slanders, with no limits to it" had been launched against him.

"I have been accused of having declared myself in favour of the occupying forces in 1941, of protecting terrorists, and even of having played a still unclarified role in the assassination of Ambassador Rolovic", Vrhovec said and quoted the exact statement he had made in 1983, which was now being used against him.

Vrhovec then read quotes from an interview allegedly given by Serbian party leader Slobodan Milosevic to the Vienna weekly WOCHENPRESSE. According to the quotes read by Vrhovec, Milosevic had allegedly stated to the Vienna newspaper that "dirty and inhumane means are not foreign to the international workers' movement" and that such forces "are strong in the country I live in and the party I belong to".

Milosevic immediately asked to speak and rejected the alleged "interview" as a pure forgery.

"I have given no interview to any WOCHENPRESSE, any foreign magazine, newspaper or news agency", Milosevic underscored.

Ivo Druzic denounced the increasingly intensive and "sucessful" process of breaking up socialist Yugoslavia and its federative order. He believes the main cause for this is the League of Communists' incapability and lack of knowledge to open a new stage in development through reform.

He further said that a specific "reform" in the manner of bourgeois restoration was under way in the Yugoslav society: on the one hand, the humiliating impoverishment of the majority of workers, and on the other, the quick acquisition of wealth by a narrow group of "speculators". He said this group was taking its wealth out of the country and that it was equivalent to at least one half of the country's foreign debt. (Yugoslavia's foreign debt amounts to some 20 billion dollars).

According to Druzic, the stratum of the newly rich is trying to break up Yugoslavia and can only achieve this through revamped nationalism.

He cited Kosovo as a typical example of this and stressed that it was still unclear where the Albanian chauvinists and separatists from Kosovo got the money for financing their activities.

Head of the General Staff of the Yugoslav People's Army (YPA) Stevan Mirkovic, otherwise member of the party's supreme forum, criticized the debate saying one [as received] its part was much too theoretical-philosophical. Mirkovic saw the lack of concrete proposals for clear-cut stands and tasks as the fleeing from concrete commitments concerning the points on the agenda. At the same time, he noted, this was the greatest opportunism.

Having noted that he thought it was a great weakness that the LCY CC had not yet discussed the current questions of the country's defences, Mirkovic said that in this moment it was very important that the CC should take a clear stand towards this matter, the more so as the LCY is the most responsible for Yugoslavia's security.

Mirkovic assessed that Yugoslavia's security is more vulnerable now than usual. Even though the world displays the desire for stable and strong Yugoslavia, there are signs of change in this respect, attempts to internationalize the crisis, and attempts to directly interfere in Yugoslavia's internal affairs, via, for example, the raising of the question of human rights—said Mirkovic.

He also said that in recent days the press in some neighbouring countries has mentioned some regions which had once belonged to some other countries. Concern is voiced over the stability of Yugoslavia and, in this reference, over the ethnic minorities. Some of the adjacent countries have undertaken security measures as if these countries were undergoing the crisis.

Mirkovic hence concluded that in the development of the military-political situation there are elements possibly conducive to the jeopardizing of the country's security, although at the moment, as he put it, there were no conditions existing for jeopardy in arms.

Mirkovic also said that Yugoslavia has voluntarily and on a self-initiative reduced its Armed Forces, but, one country alone cannot go far in this direction. Now, it is up to others to make a move. In his view, the crisis has

not substantially affected the country's defensive strength, for the state of combat readiness is on the required level. But, there are limits to everything and the LCY within the YPA must constantly work on the protection of integrity of the Armed Forces from the increasingly strong negative influences.

If the crisis continues, Mirkovic cautioned, all the fundamental and practically accomplished solutions of the all people's defence and social self-protection will be called in question.

Mirkovic explained that special measures, frequently discussed these days, are a constitutional category intended for the protection of constitutional order and the freedom of people.

The place and role of the Armed Forces in emergency conditions are turned towards danger from outside. For that reason, the absurd accusation that the armed forces are plotting against democracy should be done away with, Mirkovic said.

He said inter-nationality conflicts have a negative effect on the Yugoslav People's Army. Group, extremist activities from nationalist positions appear and disrupt the unity of army collectives, he said.

Dusica Jovanovic was one of the few speakers to support the Serbian Central Committee's proposal to dismiss Kosovo provincial officials Kolj Siroka, Azem Vlasi and Svetislav Dolasevic from the LCY Central Committee.

She said that that must be done because they are the most responsible that conditions in Kosovo have not been stabilised for too long. She said some of Azem Vlasi's statementss and steps had encouraged Albanian separatists and chauvinists in Kosovo.

She opposed attempts to proclaim as nationalists the millions of participants in mass rallies of solidarity with Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins.

Jovanovic disagreed with the decision of the joint session of the LCY CC and Kosovo Provincial Committee to discuss the responsibility of provincial official after the 17th plenum and recalled that they must be held responsible for not realising the conclusions of the 9th LCY CC session on Kosovo.

She urged the dismissal of all officials which the people do not trust, and proposed that the Central Committee not limit the possibility of renewals in the CC to only one third of its membership.

Branko Greganovic, a youth organisation official, warned that dissatisfaction with certain politicians must not turn into a discrediting of personality.

Despite a great fuss, responsibility is still just a battle cry and not an integral part of the system which must guarantee freedom for all, not the authority of the few, Greganovic said.

He requested a cadre renewal which would stimulate creativity and work, not a struggle for power.

Sergej Krajger opposed assessments that Yugoslavia's political system was falling apart and that the policy of inter-nationality relations was defeated. He said it was just a question of capacitating the LCY to resolve problems in the country.

Ivo Karamarko said the LCY now needed Yugoslav-oriented leaders and urged cadre changes through direct elections with several candidates and secret ballot.

The Kosovo drama phenomenon and 20-year unsuccessful efforts to achieve the necessary economic reforms are the negative outcome of the League of Communists and its leadership, Dragan Tomic said.

Polemicising with stands on the frequent mass gatherings, Radivoje Konstantinovic said people were gathering to preserve Yugoslavia.

He rejected claims that the mass gatherings were nationalistic.

Dragica Zgrebec said the mass gatherings of solidarity and support were no longer necessary to the endangered Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo and that only decisive and concrete activity within the institutions of the system could return security to the homes of those deprived of rights.

Naranza Jovanovic said it was impermissible for the creators of unsuccessful policy to remain amnestied.

Socioeconomic Issues Discussed

AU1810142388 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Excerpts] The session of the LCY Central Committee was continued this morning with its discussion on the first point on the agenda: the direct tasks and activities in solving the current economic, political, and social situation in the country. Several Central Committee members want to speak, and therefore it is expected that the discussion on this point will continue until the evening. [passage omitted]

Some 30 speakers are still to speak. This practically means that the 17th session will most probably continue tomorrow, because three important subjects still have to be discussed. These are the creation of a commission for the transformation of the LC, the cadre renewal of the Central Committee and its Presidium, and the report of the so-called Hafner commission which is to propose possible

measures of responsibility for the public confrontations between individual members of the LCY Central Committee about the Novi Sad meeting on 9 July.

As the matters stand now, there is every prospect that the 18th session of the LCY Central Committee, which is also to be held, will begin only tomorrow [19 October] afternoon. To remind you, this session is to set the political assessments on the amendments to the Federal Constitution.

Dizdarevic Speech

LD1810204988 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0935 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Speech by Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, at the LCY Central Committee plenum in Belgrade on 18 October—recorded]

[Text] Comrades, we are holding our plenary session in a very difficult situation, a situation more difficult than ever before in the preceding decades. But it is not one which cannot be overcome. On the contrary, the SFRY Presidency has recently on several occasions made its views known on relations in the country, the economic crisis, the lack of unity, the growing nationalism, the fomenting of national poison and hatred, the onslaught of nationalism among the subjective forces, the paralysis of the system, the isolationism within the bounds of narrow particular interests and ideas, and on conduct which is damaging to both individual parts of our country and the country as a whole—to our socialist, self-management-based, and democratic orientation, to our federal system and our international situation.

The SFRY Presidency has pointed out that social tensions have become more serious than ever before in the last 40 years and have reached a crisis point, and that if we fail to pass measures which are justifiably demanded and expected by the working class and citizens to reduce and alleviate their difficulties, the situation will continue to deteriorate and to assume more serious forms. We have also pointed out the causes of the crisis and ways of emerging from it through, primarily, a resolute commitment to implement economic and social reform without any delay and, of course, through timely constitutional changes.

As you are all aware of the Presidency's standpoints and its particular insistence on the priorities and directions of joint action, I would like to express my views on a number of issues.

First, we are faced with real problems in the functioning of the system. I spoke about this not long ago but in light of the serious nature of the situation, I would like to draw attention to it here at this session. Because of the political atmosphere created in the country or in some communities, because of the (?fierce) political pressure to which they have been exposed, even from those who talk loudly about the struggle for constitutionality, legality, and democratic order, some institutions and officials in them do not perform their duties determined by the constitution and the law, or they perform them only by half. We have had cases in our country of unprecedented organized pressure against the law by various organs. Where does this lead us?

To a system of inefficiency by these organs who make it or protect it? Is this a system or a road to anarchy, to a liquidation of democratic practice in the pursuit of constitutionality and legality, to a situation in which power will be assumed by unconstitutional, parallel organs of groups, with a passive or favorable attitude by those who should oppose them? Either we will ensure the conditions for an efficient functioning of the system, or such social deviations will occur that they will liquidate democracy based on the rule of law.

It is clear that a lasting way out of the crisis is only to be found by sticking to the course of the development of democratic practice in social life and development as a whole. This is possible only by developing a socialist selfmanaging democracy. Now many people are talking about democracy. All kinds of notions are current—from the reduction of democracy only to some institutions of bourgeois society, to falling in love with the state—one's own of course—and to the proclamation of disorder and destructive behavior (?by democracies). And we have lagged behind and we do not have broadly organized actions for the practical development of socialist self-managing democracy, because the organs of the leadership deal more with everything than with work and the concrete questions of the true development of democratic practice. Not only is little done, little is even spoken about the development of the self-managing democratic practice of the work of these organs. In many places these actions to this end are replaced by sweet words about democracy, about visions, about the 21st century and so on, but in practice so much of this is both tolerated and done, which creates an atmosphere which does not favor this, and which converts good ideas and [words indistinct] into phrases and does not move the practice of the democratic struggle forward by even a millimeter, or else returns it to outmoded or limited frameworks, in other words, fully opens the door to bourgeois and dogmatic perceptions.

Let me also say this: Creative socialist thought is not an empty story, but the guiding principle for reform and progress—a change which people feel benefits them. And when it is a matter of social criticism and criticism in general, it is a vital condition for the the development of democratic practice. No one and nothing can be spared in the constant critical making of assessments. This must be inherent to our system. Of course, criticism should be creative and not destructive. It is very destructive at present, and not very creative. But the need now is for us to develop social criticism which does away with what is

no good and who is no good, which replaces the bad with something better, in other words, which destroys what is no good by building what we need.

Secondly, we are a community of nations and nationalities, a federative state of equitable and equal people in terms of rights and duties. We must overcome problems through agreements and unite in common action—through agreements in which no one can impose his interests (?above those of others) and in which particularism will not dominate, nor the aspiration toward a special position and hegemony, but respect for the interests of everyone, and first and foremost the mood and aspirations of working people and citizens, viewed from the class point of view, in the strategic orientation of development along socialist, self-managing, democratic lines, on the principle of the equality of all the nations and nationalities, republics, and provinces.

We can do nothing concerning any question, phenomenon, or problem and our responsibilities in connection with this, without taking account of the situation in the country as a whole and of the interests of the stability, unity, and security of the country. The message that everything which is bad and which is a problem in one part of the country affects the situation in the country as a whole is superfluous. We all always feel this. The most difficult thing to bear is one's own experience. And the experiences we have been through over the past few months are difficult. Unfortunately, fresh dangers will (?occur for us), with still more serious consequences. It is incredible the extent to which individual organs in some republics, or individual holders of office, forget and neglect the interests of the country as a whole. By isolating themselves to such an extent in their own narrow interests and their own understanding, they do not see that they are endangering even their own, but also our, common tomorrow.

There have, unfortunately, been plenty of these cases in recent months. It is in the interests, and the duty of each and every one of us in Yugoslavia, to protect the country from conflicts and internal clashes, not to allow anything which weakens and destroys the unity of Yugoslavia.

Thirdly, the problem of unity—or rather of disunity—has been our weak spot for years, nurtured by the bureaucratization of social relations. A disunited leadership, and conflicts between certain leaderships, which have increased recently, pose a great danger to the party and the country. Disunity inevitably leads to factionalism and groupings. I fear that we have, that we already have, more of this than we think. This makes the leadership incapable of carrying out its responsibilities, and our situation, even if it were incomparably better, needs a leadership which will effectively carry out its responsibilities.

The most powerful demand in the preparation of this plenum was the demand for unity, in action and not in words. Unfortunately, instead of building unity and an atmosphere of responsibility, an atmosphere is being created of mistrust and disunity, bickering and quarrels, inciting the public, creating tension, the involvement of the media in proving who is in the right in conflicts, and so on. There is more intolerance and passion, vengeance-seeking and mutual conflicts and confrontations, than there seems to be a communist approach to overcoming differences, or than combined and united forces and actions.

I mention in passing that as a result of certain phenomena, it is necessary for me to warn that the end does not justify the means, because unfortunately this is forgotten in certain kinds of behavior and actions. People desire and expect and call on us to eliminate and pacify quarrels. Not even in the country, and still less abroad, do many people understand who needs these arguments and why. Why do we do this? This is unpleasantly described abroad, in the case of our country, as our Balkan quarrelsome mentality.

Fourthly, we must be completely and unwaveringly orientated toward a democratic way out of the crisis. The SFRY Presidency is unwavering in this stand, and it is categorical in its stand that the solution should not be sought in extraordinary conditions and measures. The situation is not such that we should consider this, but it is such that we must think about all that we must do to avoid getting into that situation, and not only think but also act. I publicly warned of this on behalf of the SFRY Presidency a few days ago. This orientation means the duty of all of us to work to improve the serious situation, to reduce the tension, to resolve the problems, and to realize our common needs and interests together. We cannot avoid the undesirable if we work and behave in such a way that we go from bad to worse. And recently, there has been too much of such behavior and action, even in the past few days since the public statement of warning by the SFRY Presidency, on the eve of this plenum.

We cannot repeat that the way out does not lie in extraordinary measures, and argue about stands and continue with behavior which does not allow us to get out of this crisis; this would introduce further tension, and would block efforts to improve the situation. We all make decisions on the way out of this situation by the way we work and the way we carry out our responsibility toward the country. The SFRY Presidency is dutybound to do everything that it is obliged to do under the constitution and the law to prevent the further worsening of the situation, to overcome the instability, to protect and defend security, stability, and the system, and the constitutional order of the country.

Comrade Veljko Kadijevic spoke here yesterday about various speculations, false and intrigue-ridden claims about our Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] which has long been the butt of those who want a weak and disunited Yugoslavia.

I wish to say that the constitutionally-set position of our Armed Forces is being realized fully and with maximum responsibility, that the YPA possesses high awareness of this, and this is being expressed in a conscientious performance of their duties toward, and before, the SFRY Presidency as the collective state organ and the supreme commander.

And another thing: the pressures on the YPA, its parts, and its officers, to subordinate themselves to regional politics and interests are repelled by the unity and the Yugoslav integrity of the army which has been, and can be, only and always the united armed force of all the peoples and nationalities, and thus only Yugoslav. And I wish to say in particular that I support all the stands in the report and the proposed document which concern the situation in Kosovo and the responsibility for the nonimplementation of tasks which should have been implemented. We must be even more specific in establishing what must be done and when with regard to that which we (?have established). The line must be drawn wherever possible when responsibility is in question. Every organ's effectiveness in carrying out orientations and responsibilities is what is needed now and what we must insist on now. We have paid and are still paying a big price for slowness, for quarrelling over assessments and formulations instead of action, united action by all of us.

The struggle against Albanian nationalism and separatism, the extinguishing of the hotbeds of counterrevolution, the halting of emigration, and the overcoming of national divisions and confrontations and opposition to all nationalisms can only be successfully carried out and brought to a conclusion with collective efforts and energetic political action, a united front of Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Turks, and members of other nations and nationalities in Kosovo. And this must be the content of political action, above all of those in Kosovo and of all of us together with them.

Point six: We must take account of the world in which and with which we live. We cannot behave, or allow behavior which does not take account of our international position, security, and the interests of Yugoslavia and an understanding of it. And the world is following with great interest what is happening in our country. Events in Yugoslavia are on the front pages, in the reports and headlines of news agencies, radio stations, television centers, and the press—unfortunately in a negative light. Both in the East and the West and in some nonaligned countries the view is repeated that the situation in Yugoslavia is difficult, serious, and unclear. The question is increasingly raised as to what will happen in Yugoslavia, will the system and the unity of the country be preserved? The catastrophic dangers of the flaring up of nationalism are spoken and written about, and of the forces of disintegration, the powerlessness of the system, with many dark predictions. Unfortunately, the world press today describes Yugoslavia as a potential hotbed of crisis. And not only the press. We have heard statements by official representatives of some governments about their concern at the development of the situation in Yugoslavia. This cannot be taken with equanimity. When someone is written about and spoken about in such a way that is a sign that an attitude of concern is being created among the world public toward him, that is toward us, that our partners are asking themselves what is going to happen in the Yugoslavia with which we are cooperating, and our interests are always, today even more than yesterday, to cooperate and in this way to realize our political, economic, financial, and development interests.

There is great concern among our citizens who live and work abroad about what is happening in the country. They make a large number of telephone calls and the same question is always asked: What is happening in our homeland?

We can, of course, tell everybody that we shall, by relying on our own resources—which are not negligible—resolve our problems: the problem of instability, problems and issues of enhancing unity along the course to which we have committed ourselves. However, I must say that there is growing evidence of behavior and conduct which takes no notice of how the world is seeing us and what our position in it is.

It is interesting to refer to what I have just said about what the world is writing and talking about us and at the same time to see what is being done in the country itself which creates a bad impression of us and which is directly damaging to our foreign interests and prestige abroad. Our foreign economic relations have already been affected—this was mentioned yesterday. We must not forget that the concern abroad is not necessarily well-intentioned and that not everybody is in the same way well-disposed to our overcoming the problems we have encountered in our development.

Can the Central Committee ignore this? Can it afford not to ask communists and leaderships not to forget the country's international interest when they are doing what they are doing. I wish to draw particular attention to the fact that when carrying out our tasks which can influence the situation in the country, we must not forget that 1C0 nonaligned countries have entrusted us with hosting the summit of nonaligned countries in September next year and with presiding over the movement for 3 years afterwards. This confidence, and this role, call for internal stability.

And finally, are we all—all the leaderships and all of us—in the same way aware of the causes of the present situation and of the long-term effects of its prolonged duration on each of us and on all of us in Yugoslavia? We really are faced with fateful issues and fateful responsibility. The country's fate is at stake. By this I mean the achievements of the revolution, the socialist, democratic, and self-management-based path of our development, the equality and unity of all of us under a federal

system, our integrity. Is not all that has happened so far sufficient warning and lesson for us. No one has the right to jeopardize the foundations of our Yugoslavia through their actions. I agree with Comrade Suvar's introductory report and I support the guidelines of actions as outlined by it. I accept the immediate tasks and activities of the LCY in overcoming the unfavorable economic, political, and social situation in the country as submitted to the plenum. But it is important that we unite on these issues and that our unity is achieved through action, and that, in a communist manner, we settle accounts with all that we establish is not good, that bothers us, and that leads us astray, and that cadre renewal is carried out in order to make room for those who will work better and more responsibly than us.

Overview of Sessions to Date

LD1810151788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1448 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Oct (TANJUG)— Sometime after 1500 this afternoon the 17th LCY Central Committee session, at which consideration is being given to ways of overcoming the unfavorable economic, political, and social situation, resumed.

Yesterday and this morning 50 members of the LCY's highest leadership spoke from the rostrum of the Central Committee. Despite the fact that members of the Presidium of the Central Committee and the executive (?secretaries) did not take part in the discussion, a further 28 participants at the session are still waiting to speak.

Further Report

AU1810214088 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] The 17th LCY Central Committee session is currently taking place in Belgrade. Our reporter Kosta Krajincanic reports from the Sava Center:

After 25 hours of effective work, the discussion on the first topic on the agenda of the 17th session has ended. How effective this work has been and how effective the conclusions will be in overcoming the unfavorable economic, political and social situation in the country will be shown by time and will be assessed by the public, the LCY membership, the workers class, working people, and citizens.

In the last 2 days, 90 members of the Central Committee took part in the discussion. On several occasions there were replies and reactions to some speeches. Several amendments were proposed to the draft conclusions. The Central Committee working group had the task of putting all this together in a final text.

At present, Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, is making a concluding speech. In his final speech he is summing up the discussion and is pointing to its most important observations. Citing some speakers, Suvar particularly stressed the need to strengthen unity in the LC and in Yugoslavia in general.

His final speech will be broadcast later.

Let me also say that there are some indications that the Central Committee will carry on with its session tonight to discuss other topics from the agenda. A decision has to be made on setting up an LCY Central Committee commission for transforming the LC. It should also discuss cadre renewal in the Central Committee and its Presidium. A report of the Central Committee working group for establishing facts and recommending measures of responsibility in connection with the public confrontations between some members of the Central Committee over the visit to Novi Sad by Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins on 9 July is also on the agenda.

Thus, there is much work to be done. We will inform you in time as to how long this session will last.

Suvar Addresses Session

LD1810222188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2127 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Oct (TANJUG)—Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, stated this evening that the 14th LCY Congress will be held in accordance with procedure as envisaged in the LC Statute. Regardless of whether this congress will be a regular or an extraordinary one, it will be an LC Congress and not one of a party in power or of a party that is disintegrating into a multiparty system, Suvar said in his concluding remarks after the debate on the first item on the agenda of the 17th LCY Central Committee session.

Suvar spoke this evening at about 2200, after the plenum had been at work for 12 hours. The session began yesterday and about 80 speakers have participated in the debate or made contributions to the discussion on the first item on the agenda.

Suvar on "Emergency Measures"

LD1910003388 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0016 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 18 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav orientation towards reforms and a thorough renewal of socialism prevailed in the two-day debate at the 17th session of the League of communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee (CC), president of the LCY CC Presidency Dr Stipe Suvar said late Tuesday evening in his closing statement on the first item of the agenda on LCY's tasks in overcoming the adverse economic, political and social situation in the country.

None of the Yugoslav Republics or any unprincipled coalition won in the debate at which some 80 LCY CC members took the floor, said Suvar.

Yugoslavia can exist only as a true federation, and by no means as a unitarist or separatist creation or a lax confederation, said Suvar, adding that it was essential to turn to development and to what links together all Yugoslav nations and nationalities.

He said that expectations of those who hoped to turn the top forum of Yugoslav communists into "a place of harsh accountings which would be an aim in itself" fell through.

We shall achieve the Yugoslav dimension only by advocating the interests of the working class, and not by national programmes and banners, said Suvar. It is pressing to urgently return to economy and get away from outwitting and undermining each other, he underlined.

Yugoslavia must orient itself towards organizing a modern economy, said Suvar and announced that the essence of new legal norms on foreign investments will soon be cleared up so that they may be compared with similar models in the world and best solutions chosen.

The Yugoslav party leader said that the question of responsibility for the slowness in halting the destructive activity of Albanian chauvinists and separatists in the province of Kosovo will be resolutely cleared up at one of the coming sessions. The question will be discussed together with the leaderships of Serbia and its province of Kosovo for days, if necessary, until a principled and argumented settlement to all disputed issues is reached and until concrete measures for resolving the problem are adopted, said Suvar.

On emergency measures, Suvar said that "nobody wants them." However, if we came into a situation to defend the constitutional system from destruction, we would be compelled to apply them, "as any other country would do," he concluded.

Suvar Concludes

LD1810213288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2101 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Oct (TANJUG)—"At this session not one republic won," Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, stated this evening in his concluding remarks.

Concluding the debate on the first item on the agenda, Suvar said that in the 2-day debate at the 17th LCY Central Committee session, the Yugoslav orientation toward the reforms and toward the renewal of socialism, prevailed.

Plenum Ends 2d Day

LD1810213988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2128 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Oct (TANJUG)—The 2d day of the LCY Central Committee plenum ended at 2220 today after a debate lasting the whole day.. The session of the party forum resumes at 0900 tomorrow.

LCY CC Plenum Meets for 19 Oct Session

Preview of 3d Day

LD1910055588 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0533 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 19 (TANJUG)—The 17th session of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee (CC) resumes work today with the determination of concrete tasks for overcoming the adverse political, economic and social situation in the country. Sixty-eight Central Committee members took part in the debate in the past two days in an attempt to come out with a Yugoslav synthesis of the existing socio-economic crisis and best solutions for its gradual overcoming.

The session will also examine proposals by the LCY CC Presidency for a cadre renewal of the Central Committee and the Presidency itself. Four Presidency members have already submitted irrevocable resignations and the Central Committee will not vote on them.

A report by a working group set up to investigate the causes and effects of public confrontations among LCY CC members triggered by the July 9 arrival of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins to Novi Sad, the capital of the Province of Vojvodina, will also be reviewed.

The 18th LCY CC session to focus on draft constitutional amendments which are currently subject of a public debate is expected to take place immediately after the 17th session.

Suvar Address

LD1910094788 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] In Belgrade the 17th plenary session of the LCY Central Committee is in its 3d day. After the LCY Central Committee agreed that the commission which will outline the bases for the reform of the LC before the 14th congress will contain 37 members, it listened to a wide-ranging explanation from Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presisium, about the 28th stance of the first conference which relates to cadre renewal of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium. It is not a question of a purge and the expulsion of sinners but of the normal democratic renewal of the Central Comittee. It would be impermissable to see the departure of old comrades as a break with the continuity of the revolution, said Suvar. He warned that the

announced changes are a natural statutory procedure of the renewal of the Central Committee between two congresses. In conclusion, he proposed that because of some 15 sharp criticisms, the mandate of the LCY Central Committee Presidium be confirmed or denied by secret ballot.

Suvar Wants Confidence Vote

LD1910103288 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] The LCY Central Committee Presidium today called on the Central Committee, by secret vote, to express its statement of confidence in its executive political organ. This was stated by the Presidium president Stipe Suvar in his introductory speech on the item of the agenda relating to cadre renewal of the Presidium and the Central Committee.

You elected us by secret vote and that is also how you can replace us, said Suvar, stressing that this statement of confidence related to the other 10 Presidium members, including the LCY Central Committee Presidium President and secretary. We are doing this, said Suvar, because of our responsibility to the Central Committee, the Party membership, and the broad public. We do not wish to work in the current circumstances when we are exposed to criticism, some of which is unprincipled. This is why we want the Central Committee to express its opinion on this. Suvar proposed that the Central Committee should accept the resignations of four members who submitted their resignations to the Presidium. This relates to Bosko Krunic, Milanko Reovica, Kolj Siroka, and Franc Setinc.

Resignations Accepted

LD1910122688 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] The LCY Central Committee 17th session continued this morning with a working discussion on cadre renewal. Milan Rados reports from Belgrade:

[Begin Rados recording] In the introductory speech by Central Committee Presidium President Stipe Suvar we heard a great deal of information on the current composition of the Central Committee and the basic orientation for renewal of all central and provincial committees and presida. We repeat some of the positions: This Central Committee separates the Party from the state and the holders of posts in state organs and officials in sociopolitical organizations [words indistinct] with the exception of the Yugoslav People's Army. All of this renewal, Stipe Suvar said, must be in accordance with the LCY Statute, and you know that the membership in the top party organs can only be relinquished by resignation or expulsion. As is also known, this can only be done by creating working groups and establishing responsibility. How responsibility can be established and a high-quality party renewal can be ensured was shown by a discussion on the criteria for renewal.

The unanimous demand of the participants was that the first criterion should be the realization of LCY policy and orientation toward the three reforms. These Presidium proposals will be included in the criteria, as will the proposal that resignations for health reasons will no longer be accepted so easily, and that the criteria for electing new members should be made sharper. The Central Committee then decided on the resignations of Franc Setinc, Bosko Krunic, Milanko Renovica and Kolj Siroka, individually. With the exception of Franc Setinc, whose resignation had three votes against, the others were adopted unanimously.

The discussion on the initiative of the Serbian LC Central Committee on the expulsion from the LCY Central Committee of Kolj Siroka, Azem Vlasi, and Svetislav Dolasevic is still in progress. The Presidium proposed that, in line with the statute, a working group should be formed which will establish the facts and propose a decision. The president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium Kacusa Jasari, said that some assessments and the initiative of the Serbian LC Central Committee were not valid. Then Azem Vlasi, expressing the doubt that the working group would be working under duress, spoke about his career. The 17th LCY Central Committee session continues.

Regional Reactions to the LCY CC Sessions

Serbs, Montenegrins, Kosovo

LD1810141988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1346 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] Pristina, 18 Oct (TANJUG)—Over 400 "representatives of the Serb and Montenegrin nations in Kosovo" are in Kosovo Polje to follow the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee. They expressed their dissatisfaction with the way it is running. During the meeting today, the third such meeting held during the past 2 days, the assessment was made "that the Central Committee members concerned themselves exceptionally little with the problem of Kosovo and with the difficult position of the Serb and Montenegrin nations." Dissatisfaction was also expressed over the fact that the telegram which the participants sent yesterday was not read out during the plenum.

Because of one more disappointment, as they said, the participants have announced that they will hold a protest meeting in Kosovo Polje, but,they stressed, without the customary banners and slogans.

Rally Planned

AU1810194788 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] Three-hundred citizens from Kosovo Polje and other areas of the province met today in the House of Culture at Kosovo Polje, responding to the call of a so-called working group of the 16th and 17th local community, to discuss the proceedings of the 17th LCY

Central Committee plenum. As was stated by Stefan Barinkovic, the chairman of the group which was formed yesterday, the citizens of this community are displeased with the plenum's proceedings because, according to Barinkovic, a telegram sent by the community was not read out at the plenum. The telegram expressed the suspicion that this plenum would end like previous ones, to the detriment of the interests of the Kosovo Serbs. Some cadres were criticized. The meeting decided to hold a rally of Serb and Montenegrin citizens in Kosovo Polje on Thursday [20 October], and that banners would be displayed to express their displeasure.

Protest in Istok

LD1910091988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1710 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] Istok, 18 Oct (TANJUG)—Over 250 Serbs and Montenegrins from the local community of Osojane in the Istok municipality today protested because a group of Serbian students from (Oprasci) were attacked recently by a number of youths from the Frokai family. The meeting was opened by the president of local community council, Vlastimir Vukovic, who said that students from this area have recently been exposed to severe attacks by Albanian nationalists and separatists. He recalled that the Commitee for All-People's Defense and Social Self Protection at the school and by the Osojane local community assessed this as a hostile act. He condemned some municipal and provincial officials' statements, which associate the justifiable indignation of Serbs and Montenegrins with manipulations.

About 10 students also spoke at the meeting. They expressed painful views of the Kosovo drama and demanded energetically to be allowed to attend their classes unhindered and sleep peacefully. They are worried and angry at the fact that their Albanian peers and lecturers did not express solidarity with them.

In the meantime participants in the meeting were joined by first-shift workers at the protective equipment factory in Osojane. Nadica Barjaktarevic spoke on behalf of the workers. Full support was voiced for the principled policy of the Serbian LC Central Committee and for its president, Slobodan Milosevic and persistence in carrying out the constitutional changes was called for.

School Boycott Ends in Pristina After 20 Days

LD1810211988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1310 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] Pristina, 18 Oct (TANJUG)—The Serbo-Croat speaking students today ended their 20-day long boycott of classes. The decision to hold a boycott was reached on 27 September at a meeting of Serbo-Croat speaking lecturers, assistants and students when demands were also made aimed at resolving the dramatic situation in Kosovo.

"Although our demands have so far been disregarded by the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee and the Pristina LC Municipal Committee, who have not shown enough understanding for the activity of university bodies, we have, however, decided, in the interest of the students, to return to classes on 19 October. We pledge ourselves to catch up with what has been missed. However, if our justified demands are not met, and the ones concerned with problems at the university are not resolved in the shortest possible time, we have decided collectively to resign all our self-management, political and executive functions," stresses the public statement made by the presiding body of the meeting of the Serbo-Croat speaking lecturers, assistants and students from Pristina University.

It is expected that following the decision by students to return to their classes, Kosovo high-school students would also return to their classes after the boycott in protest at the continued worsening of the political and security situation in province.

Sarajevo Session Expels Former Bank Official

LD1910105388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1032 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] Sarajevo, 19 Oct (TANJUG)—Jure Pelivan, the former governor general of the National Bank of Bosnia-Hercegovina, was expelled from the LCY at last night's session of the Central Sarajevo Municipal League of Communists Committee.

At the party meeting Pelivan asked that the decision on adopting an ideopolitical measure [against him] because of his participation in the Agrokomerc affair be postponed until the verdict is announced tomorrow in the Travnik basic court. He has been criminally charged there with participating in financially unlawful transactions. The opinion prevailed, however, that establishing his political responsibility was not connected with the legal proceedings.

Milosevic Denies Interview With Austrian Paper

LD1810130388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1124 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Oct (TANJUG)—During today's debate at the LCY Central Committee session Slobodan Milosevic, in reply to Josip Vrhovec, denied that he has ever given an interview to "WOCHENPRESSE" of Vienna.

I have never given an interview to that paper or to any other foreign paper. The only interview I ever gave was for "NIN". I am saying this not to deny that such an interview exists but to state, as a matter of fact, that it is not my interview.

[TANJUG in Serbo-Croatian on 18 October at 1200 GMT transmits a service message which reads: "To Zoran Andjelkovic, TANJUG Vienna correspondent: Zoran, please send us quickly by fax the facsimile of

Slobodan Milosevic's alleged interview with "WOCHENPOST" [publication name as received]. Greetings, Duty Editor Ljupka Milovanovic. Belgrade, 18 October 1988."]

Responsibility for 'Interview' Established

LD1810200888 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1833 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] Vienna, October 18 (TANJUG)—"The interview" of President of the Serbian party Slobodan Milosevic, published on October 14 this year in the Vienna weekly "WOCHENPRESSE", as established today, was not given to the weekly, nor is it the text by an Austrian author.

The "WOCHENPRESSE" editorial office explained that an interview Slobodan Milosevic gave to the Belgrade weekly "NIN" on July 3 this year is actually involved. Judging by what was published, the text of the interview has been arbitrarily changed.

Otherwise, a short exchange was conducted today at the 17th plenum of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee which began yesterday in Belgrade. Milosevic denied having ever given an interview to any foreign news agency or newspaper.

Parts from the original interview, it was explained further, were taken, translated and distributed by the Vienna news agency WECO PRESSESERVICE and this text was published by "WOCHENPRESSE". However, did not cite the source, but published "the interview" as an "exclusive." [sentence as received]

The Linz daily "OBEROESTEREISCHISCHE NACHRICHTEN" yesterday acted similarly by publishing the interview as "an exclusive". However, it does cite the source—the WECO PRESSESERVICE news agency—and mentions its copy right.

The above data was given to the Vienna correspondent of the Yugoslav news agency TANJUG and "WOCHENPRESSE" competent officials and the private news agency. It was explained that WECO has an agreement on cooperation with the Belgrade weekly "NIN", that is, with the Yugoslav authors' agency through which the text was taken. No explanation was given on titles and comments that went with the text.

Milosevic Interview in DIE WOCHENPRESSE

AU1910095488 Vienna DIE WOCHENPRESSE in German No 41/14 Oct 88 pp 38-39

["Exclusive interview" with Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidum: "Of Course There Will Be a Crisis"; date and place not given]

[Text] WOCHENPRESSE: In the past few weeks the unrest in Serbia has increased dramatically, particularly in connection with the Autonomous Provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina. You yourself have been accused of greater Serbian tendencies. Your friends, on the other hand, have spoken about a witchhunt....

Milosevic: Separatism and nationalism are escalating in Kosovo because some old-established and influential leading figures in Serbia have closed their eyes to this problem in order that they might remain in power until they retire, or even beyond that if possible.

WOCHENPRESSE: Can one then really speak of the persecution of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo?

Milosevic: The exodus of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo is a direct consequence of the concessions made by some Serbian politicians to Albanian nationalism. They ought to have brought their influence to bear on the course of events and prevented the trouble. But out of fear of placing their positions at risk they did not, or did not dare, to do so.

WOCHENPRESSE: What, specifically, do you accuse your opponents of?

Milosevic: One cannot tolerate that in a peaceful European country, and a socialist country at that, civil rights are threatened by methods such as are used by the Chilean police to eliminate opponents of the government.

WOCHENPRESSE: And why do you feel personally attacked?

Milosevic: My opponents are attacking the current policies in Serbia, and their supporters, in a way that is reminiscent of the methods of old and new fascism in its struggle against communists and progressives. Unable to strike their opponents politically, they try to defame them by publishing lies or—even worse—half-truths about them and their families. This is done in order to turn the public against these people personally since it has not been possible to create resistance to their policies.

WOCHENPRESSE: And all this can happen in a socialist country?

Milosevic: Unfortunately, even in the international workers movement using dirty, even inhuman, methods to beat an opponent who is in the way either politically or personally is not unknown. I can now see that such forces are rising again and they are strong, even in the country in which I live and in the party to which I belong.

WOCHENPRESSE: Yes, but what has that to do with the present demonstrations?

Milosevic: Among the Yugoslav peoples Serbia has the oldest tradition of statehood. But of all the Yugoslav republics it is the only one that does not possess basic state authority over its whole territory. Things cannot go on like this! Serbia must pull itself out of its economic

underdevelopment. And, as is the case with the other republics of Yugoslavia, it must constitute itself as a state—or a republic, without regard to special conditions [Besonderheiten].

WOCHENPRESSE: You speak of "special conditions," an unusual expression ....

Milosevic: Serbia is not prepared to admit two autonomous regions to its polity [Bund] simply to allow itself to be degraded to a second-class republic or to dissolve itself. If our people did not recognize this fact before, they do now. And they will not allow things to remain as they are.

WOCHENPRESSE: People are comparing your efforts with Greater Serbian nationalism. Is that true?

Milosevic: The struggle for the economic, social, political, and cultural interests of the (Serbian) nation, a struggle that does not question the interests or the dignity of other nations, is not nationalism but patriotism. That is particularly true in times of crisis. In saying this I do not believe that the interests of the Yugoslav nations oppose one another or give rise to conflicts.

WOCHENPRESSE: The protests of the people and the workers are not based on nationalist reasons alone. The moral crisis and the economic crisis are getting worse from day to day. One can even hear the swearword "red bourgeoisie"....

Milosevic: Lenin's words are ever topical: "If anyone is going to cost us our heads, then it will be the good-for-nothings in our own ranks." And in our case these words are more topical today than ever. No one outside the party can do it anything like the harm that those within it can.

WOCHENPRESSE: What do you want to do with these so-called good-for-nothings?

Milosevic: The good-for-nothings among us have to go, because they have stolen from us and because they cause us harm.

WOCHENPRESSE: Do you see any danger to the unanimity that is required to bring about constitutional amendments?

Milosevic: What is there that is more important for the Communists to be unanimous about than the Constitution of the country?

WOCHENPRESSE: If there is no consensus on the constitutional amendments you are seeking (in order to curtail the rights of the autonomous provinces) then there will be crisis....

Milosevic: Of course there will be! But I hope that it can be resolved so that we can restore the stability of Yugoslavia as a socialist, modern, and economically prosperous country.

WOCHENPRESSE: Openness is a particular weakspot of the LCY. How, after so many years, would you change this?

Milosevic: Since I have been in the leadership of the LC of Serbia I have been annoyed by the practice of closed meetings. This goes against my understanding of politics and democracy in a socialist country. Closed meetings and socialist self-managing democracy are mutually exclusive.

WOCHENPRESSE: Individual officials are now talking again about "tightening one's belt."

Milosevic: The dirges that have been coming from the highest political tribunes have recently turned into defeatism. I personally am absolutely against such defeatism, against painting things black. Defeatism is the logical consequence of the fact that some people have already been in the leadership too long and have lost their eye for both creative political work and for new ideas.

WOCHENPRESSE: What do you want to do about this?

Milosevic: The crisis calls for great intellectual and physical effort. In this country there are so many educated, clever, and determined people who have a lot of solutions and can hardly wait to present their solutions in order to help our society. It is neither clever nor just not to give these people the chance to ensure by means of these alternatives the democratic renewal that has already begun. Without them there can be no progress.

WOCHENPRESSE: Nevertheless, people are still talking about the "state withering away."

Milosevic: Our state is only withering away where it is not needed. But it is also becoming stronger where it is not actually necessary. On the one hand, people are calling for the army to be disbanded, but its security and protective function is in fact the last thing that the state should give up. Particularly in a time when states are making claims against other states and possess ever bigger and stronger forces in order to realize these claims. On the other hand, the state is being bolstered where it really ought to be trimmed. Innumerable officials and institutions neither have a function in society nor do they bring society any benefits. Quite the contrary, they gobble up time and resources and merely give the appearance of working. In so doing they generate a justified rejection among citizens against the state, which is identified in their minds with thousands of unnecessary and arrogant officials.

[Whereas WOCHENPRESSE identifies the above interview as its own "exclusive," Vienna NEUE AZ in German on 18 October on page 7, in a report about the LCY Central Committee plenum in Belgrade, reports that after Milosevic had denied having given an interview to DIE WOCHENPRESSE, DIE WOCHENPRESSE "Chief Editor Magenschab stated that his magazine had bought this interview from the international agency WECO Press."]

Correction to Public Messages, Requests

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Public Sends Messages, Requests to LCY Plenum", published in the 18 October East Europe DAILY REPORT, page 83:

page 84, paragraph two, only sentence reads:...put to the agony of the Kosovo...(supplying indistinct word "agony.")